



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Baltic Presidents Praise Partnership for Peace Invitation

*LD1201145394 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1400 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Excerpt] Estonian President Lennart Meri, Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis, and Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas have circulated a joint statement in which the invitation for the Baltic states to participate in the NATO program, Partnership for Peace, is valued positively.

The statement stresses that the program offers concrete possibilities for the development of cooperation between NATO and the Baltic states. The presidents also express hope that the armed forces of the Baltic states would be transformed so that they would be able to cooperate with NATO.

[Second announcer] The statement also says that the task to secure the status of a member state will not be easy, and it should be carried out by all the East European states together. In addition, mutual trust and cooperation on the whole continent and in the Baltic Sea region will strengthen in the framework of the Partnership for Peace program of cooperation between all European states. [passage omitted]

Baltic Security Issues Discussed in Tallinn

*WS1001105494 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 3*

[Report by V. Gromak: "Admiral Kravchenko's Five Proposals"]

[Text] The Baltic Institute of Strategic and International Research has held in Tallinn a conference on cooperation and security in the Baltic Sea region. You must admit that the subject is very important to all the countries located on the Baltic Sea. The conference was attended by delegations from 16 countries. Also a delegation of seven NATO representatives headed by Brigade General Tom Lennon, deputy chief of the program for military relations at the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe, arrived to Tallinn, including German, Finnish, and Norwegian ambassadors to Estonia. Since the organizers "had forgotten" to invite the Russian envoy, Russia was represented by Vice Admiral Viktor Kravchenko, first deputy commander of the Baltic Sea Fleet. Among the participants were also Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, and Estonian President Lennart Meri. The latter delivered the opening speech at the conference, the merit of which was boiled down to an analysis of the results of the elections in Russia.

Only Zhirinovskiy's victory was discussed at the conference, summarized one of the participants. According to the Estonian president's speech, the electoral victory of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia is a factor threatening the security of the Baltic states. Therefore, NATO should become a guarantor for their security. I

have repeatedly emphasized in my statements and in numerous conversations, said Vice Admiral Kravchenko, that neither electoral victory of a separate party nor even a change of the government would mean a significant change in the political course. The more so, since democratic parties and movements will have a majority in the new legislature. Personally, I believe that our elections have come in very handy for the Baltics...

The first deputy commander of the Baltic Sea Fleet is not alone in his opinion on this issue. One does not have to be a great politician to understand that the representatives of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania replaced a serious discussion on solving real security problems of the Baltic Sea region, with their ambitions to obtain international support for imposing on Russia ultimate terms for troop withdrawal, as well as to receive the moral right to introduce openly discriminative measures against the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic states. Moreover, this was done in a rather rough and primitive manner, which generated negative reaction even among the NATO representatives. One should seek Russia's advice. No matter what difficulties it is currently experiencing, Russia is a large state, and one should talk with respect with a large country, they stated in their official speeches and private conversations. In response, Lennart Meri commented that the United States sacrificed the interests of the Baltics to the global peace problems and the continued reforms in Russia.

This way, a conference on very important issue was converted by its organizers into a strictly propagandist meeting. Only the speech by Vice Admiral Kravchenko and concrete proposals of Baltic Sea Fleet navy men brought some fresh air into it.

What did Vice Admiral Kravchenko exactly propose?

First. To draft an agreement on the free traffic of navy vessels, in accordance with the international law on navigation and the existing system of marine traffic control in the Gulf of Finland.

Second. To legalize and establish a permanent connection between the command of the Baltic Sea Fleet and the commands of the Baltic states' navies; to coordinate plans for naval training; and to establish regulations on emergency procedures.

Third. To provide security within economic zones of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia during naval maneuvers, the Russian side is willing to take into account reasonable economic interests of ship owners and fishermen of these countries.

Fourth. To establish cooperation between the hydrographic services of the Russian Federation and the Baltics, including the establishment of a system of mutual exchange of navigational and meteorological data.

Fifth. The issue of cooperation in emergency situations remains unsolved, since Russia does not have an appropriate agreement with the Baltic states. This problem must also be solved.

Unfortunately, the vice admiral took the floor at the end of the conference, and these concrete proposals were not officially approved. Estonia's Defense Minister Juri Luik advocated development of a joint defense policy of the Baltic states, considering Russia the only enemy. He appealed to establish a military-political union of the Baltic states, although without Russia's participation, but with the possibility of Ukraine's participation. Judging from the Estonian defense minister's speech, the leaders of this country prefer cooperation with the West and the Baltics in the field of establishing a security system, and they intentionally attempt to create a suspicious atmosphere around Russia, which would resemble the "cold war" spirit.

Although no concrete discussion on security of the Baltic Sea region was held in Tallinn, the Baltic Sea Fleet did not waste time. The fleet's command one more time demonstrated its good will to enhance cooperation with the Baltic states. Although certain circles in the Baltics did not get the message, Brigade General Tom Lennon did. He came with a proposal to establish a direct connection between the Baltic Sea Fleet and units of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe. This year, such a connection was established with a division of the Privolzhskiy Military District. Life has already testified to the fact that such cooperation, including visits, joint solving of various issues, and collective work on certain undertakings, has very good prospects.

Georgian, Abkhaz Delegates View Geneva Talks

LD1201180394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1122 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva, 12 Jan.—The prospects for a full-scale political settlement in Abkhazia are the main topic of discussion at the Georgian-Abkhaz talks here. They have been organized under the aegis of the UN with Russia's assistance. The possibility of concluding an agreement is

being discussed, reflecting the key areas of a settlement, especially the resolution of the problem of refugees and the future political status of Abkhazia.

The Georgian delegation is headed by Jaba Ioseliani, chairman of the Provisional Committee for the State of Emergency. The Abkhaz delegation is headed by Sokrat Dzhindzholiya, chairman of Abkhazia's Council of Ministers. Taking part in the consultations are special representative of the UN Secretary General Edouard Brunner and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov.

Mikhail Ukleba, Georgian deputy foreign minister and member of the Georgian delegation, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that several draft agreements presented by the delegations have been submitted for examination. The participants are also discussing the proposals of the Russian delegation and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, OHCR, on the return of the refugees to Abkhazia. M. Ukleba said that on the first day of the talks, 11 January, it was decided that on 8 February a group of experts, which is engaged in drawing up proposals on the political status of Abkhazia, would meet again in Moscow. The first sitting of this group took place in Moscow on 15-16 December.

In a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent, S. Dzhindzholiya said: "The main question is strengthening peace. We therefore propose the creation of a disengagement corridor along the Inguri river and the introduction of peacekeeping forces there. We say—and the Georgian side agrees with this—that Russian troops could fulfill the role of peacekeeping forces." The second issue of the talks, the political status of Abkhazia, "is so complicated that it is impossible to expect any decision to be taken today." Its discussion will be continued by experts in Moscow.

S. Dzhindzholiya said the participants in the round are devoting a great deal of attention to the problem of refugees. It is not ruled out that as a first step, recommendations will be drawn up for the return of the refugees to one area of Abkhazia. It is intended that discussions on this matter will be continued in Moscow in February by the representatives of the sides within the framework of the working group with the participation of OHCR specialists.

Bureau To Fight CIS Organized Crime Opens in Moscow

PM1201145994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 3

[Report by Yelizaveta Leontyeva: "Police Join Forces"]

[Text] The Bureau To Coordinate the Fight Against Organized Crime and Other Dangerous Forms of Crime on CIS Territory has started work in Moscow.

The decision to create it was adopted by the Council of CIS States' Heads of Government. As a preliminary step a decision was made on joint measures to combat organized crime. There is no time to waste—despite differences in mutual relations among the republics, a unified crime-conducive space has survived in the CIS. Moreover, there is information that criminal formations have "spread out" across the whole of the former Union. Almost one-third of permanent criminal groups—and 3,500 of them have been uncovered in Russia—have interregional links.

Commonwealth countries have a common problem in the shape of "illegal" business in such lucrative fields as the export of various kinds of raw materials and cultural treasures; large-scale bank fraud and the theft and resale of cars; and extortion, thefts, and attacks on means of transport. A particular danger is posed by gangs engaged in the illegal distribution of drugs and firearms and in foreign currency dealings.

Criminals have "staked out" their own areas in each Community state. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, for example, are "distinguished" for weapons sales and foreign currency dealings. All the Transcaucasus republics are famous for their concentration of bandit formations and also for weapons sales. And raw materials illegally transit the Baltic states.

The newly created Bureau is a prototype "Europol." Its work will be much more practical than that of Interpol, which is more reminiscent of a police mail box. The Bureau's main task will be precisely to combat crime in the CIS (particularly in its organized forms). This is a task which is intended to result in a decline in social tension, an improvement in the socioeconomic situation, and the regularization of the consumer market. It is also important to ensure that the dangerous processes of the merging of criminal and economic crime do not gather momentum and that criminal gang leaders and corrupt officials do not find a common language. And how is drug addiction and the drugs business to be eliminated? All this will undoubtedly fall on the new Bureau's shoulders.

The Convention on Legal Aid and Legal Arrangements in Civil, Family, and Criminal Cases signed in Minsk 22 January last year provides a good legal basis for the matters which the Bureau will tackle. But first the

Convention has to be ratified. This is a task for the new [Russian] parliament, which will be faced with a whole series of legislative acts.

International Support Pledged for Aral Sea Conference

PM1301112394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Report by Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov: "Presidents Resolve Aral's Problems"]

[Text] Nukus—A representative conference devoted to comprehensive issues of the protection of the Aral Sea ended in Nukus with the signing of a statute on an interstate council on the problems of the Aral Sea basin and the approval of a long-term program for the region's socioeconomic development and the improvement of the ecological situation in the Aral region in the next few years.

Official delegations from the following took part in the work of the conference: Kazakhstan, headed by President Nursultan Nazarbayev; Kyrgyzstan, headed by President Askar Akayev; Tajikistan, headed by Emomali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Turkmenistan, headed by President Saparmurad Niyazov; Uzbekistan, headed by President Islam Karimov; and the Russian Federation, headed by Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov. Representatives of international organizations also took part.

Opening the conference, the head of Uzbekistan noted that much has been done to supply the inhabitants of the Aral Sea region with drinking water and medical supplies. Fewer chemicals are now being used in agriculture. Thanks to the efforts of the leaders of the countries of the region the decline in the water level in the sea has been halted but the tragedy of the Aral Sea is affecting the health of people far beyond the sea basin. All this is directly connected with the uneconomic use of water resources and the shortage of money. To rectify the situation joint efforts are needed by all Central Asian states with the assistance of the international community.

This idea was supported by Kazakhstan President N. Nazarbayev, chairman of the international fund to save the Aral Sea, who informed those present that messages of support had been received from the leaders of the United States, France, Britain, Spain, Belgium, and Turkey. Khalid Malik, Uzbekistan's permanent UN representative, gave an assurance that international organizations are prepared to render every support in this common cause.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Jan

LD1301082294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0805 GMT 13 Jan 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 13 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers focus their attention today on the visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Russia.

An official part of the visit begins today, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI writes. It will be the continuation of the dialogue on a summit level, started in Vancouver, Canada, last April. The newspaper points out with reference to Russian experts that "the discussion of the programme of partnership and cooperation between Russia and the United States for the late 90s and the beginning of the 21st century will be the feature event of the meeting of leaders of the two countries."

An article by Dr. Anatoliy Prokhorovsky, deputy director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies under the Russian Academy of Sciences, published by the same newspaper, says that the U.S. is doing its utmost for "promoting rapprochement with Russia."

IZVESTIYA stresses in the headline to the article, dealing with the visit of the American president, that "Clinton will not have much spare time in Moscow." Touching upon the meeting at the Spaso- House (the residence of the U.S. Ambassador) between Clinton and Russian politicians and business people, planned to be held today in the evening, the newspaper points to the absence of V. Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, among those invited to the meeting. Quoting American sources, IZVESTIYA writes that "he is evoking apprehension in the Washington circles, and not only because of his political views, but also because of his manner of behaviour. They are afraid that his eccentricity will put Clinton in a very embarrassing position."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries articles about the visit of the honoured American guest under the headlines "Russian President—Best Friend of American President" and "Importance of Talks To Begin in Moscow is Enhanced by Compromise, Reached by Moscow, Washington and Kiev." As was reported, representatives of Russia, the United States and Ukraine agreed in principle about a possibility of signing an accord on the dismantling of Ukrainian nuclear missiles. The newspaper calls in question the correctness of this

step made by Ukraine. In its opinion, Ukraine "could imposed its terms on others for a long time to come, showing a nuclear fist from under the table."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes about President Clinton's visit to Moscow: "It is expected from the Russian president that he will share with the U.S. guest his personal observations over the progress of the economic reform in the country, especially after the parliamentary elections. They are sure to bring up the question about the role of international financial institutions in the building of capitalism in Russia and in giving a 'human touch' to it."

According to PRAVDA, the Russian part of Clinton's visit to Europe is described by local observers more and more often as the demonstration of support for Yeltsin.

Commenting on the U.S. plan "Partnership for Peace," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that "it was drawn up and adopted with due account for Russia's lawful interests in the sphere of security." It is quite probable that Moscow will express the desire to take part in it, the newspaper points out.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, TRUD and other newspapers give wide coverage to the work of the Federal Assembly (the Russian parliament). It is pointed out that a more constructive stand assumed by members of the Federation Council enabled them to make a far greater progress than that of the State Duma. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA compares the first days of the work of the State Duma and the first congress of the former Russian people's deputies. According to the newspaper, they were characterised by "verbal attacks on Georgiy Lukava, a pilot and the doyen of the State Duma, representing the Liberal Democratic Party, and an ordinary adjustment to each other. The behaviour of many members of parliament showed that they have no idea of the ABC's of the parliamentary work."

TRUD carries a full text of the interview with Professor Aleksandr Stoyan, chairman of the Ukrainian Trade Union Federation. He recognised that Ukrainian trade unions were not ready to take effective action in defence of working people in conditions of market-based relations.

Paper Cites Officials on Upcoming Clinton Visit

Secretary Bentsen Comments

PM1201133394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Feature under the "Events of the Day" rubric containing comments by U.S. Officials on President Clinton's Visit to Moscow under the general heading "Americans Talking About Russia: U.S. President Bill Clinton's Four-Day State Visit to Moscow Begins Today. In Connection with This Event We Are Publishing Comments on Russia by Well-Known American Political and Public Figures"]

[Text] U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen:

Difficulties in the course of the reforms are no reason to slow them down.

The fact that the Russian population is encountering serious difficulties in the transition to the market economy is not unexpected. However, this is happening not because the reforms are moving too quickly but because they are developing too slowly. That opinion was expressed by U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen at a meeting with a group of journalists organized by USA TODAY.

The United States maintains relations with Russia at many levels, L. Bentsen said. We are discussing not only nuclear or military questions. We are also concerned about bilateral economic relations. And we are trying to help Russia make the transition to the market economy easier. One of the most difficult tasks during such a transformation is to reduce inflation, the high level of which in Russia is partly due to the continuation of subsidies to some state enterprises on which the whole social structure in some regions depends. They are continuing to produce goods which are not wanted and whose production is not in the interests of consumers. The progress in this sphere is quite slow.

Nevertheless, Russia has managed to reduce inflation somewhat. It has made "astonishing progress" in the privatization of small enterprises, too. "In this sphere the situation is heartening," L. Bentsen noted. The United States is interested in creating more favorable conditions for U.S. business investments in Russia. One such sphere is the oil industry. The participation of U.S. companies in its modernization could give Russia a speedy benefit in the form of hard currency.

The treasury secretary stressed that Russia should work more quickly to elaborate clear rules for the conclusion of contracts with foreign companies. Then American firms would have greater confidence in the legality of their investments and a clear idea what they can expect when contracts are being concluded. "Some progress has already been made in this regard. But even more remains to be made," L. Bentsen stressed.

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent on what he expects from the discussion of economic problems during the U.S.-Russian summit meeting in Moscow, the treasury secretary said: "I believe that the U.S. Administration will insist on further progress in relations between international financial institutions and the Russian Government." Efforts must be made by both sides, L. Bentsen remarked. They must establish closer contact and discuss Russia's observance of the terms for granting loans. The United States is also urging the World Bank to take measures to help Russia to resolve its social problems connected with the dismissal of workers in major industrial sectors.

The World Bank can grant loans to help rectify the situation. I hope that the bank will study these opportunities together with the Russian Government, the U.S. treasury secretary said.

Strobe Talbott Comments

PM1201122994 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Americans Talk About Russia: U.S. President Bill Clinton's Four-Day State Visit to Moscow Begins Today. In Connection With This Event We Are Publishing Comments on Russia by Well Known American Politicians and Public Figures"]

[Text] Strobe Talbott, special adviser to the U.S. secretary of state [title as published]:

We are encouraging forces seeking integration with the whole world.

An extremely important event for the whole world—that is how Strobe Talbott, ambassador at large and special adviser to the U.S. secretary of state on the new independent states, described U.S. President Bill Clinton's forthcoming visit to Moscow.

Answering journalists' questions during a TV linkup organized by the USIA, he noted that during this visit President Clinton will confirm that the United States "intends to firmly maintain its leading position in the international effort to support reform in Russia." These transformation, in S. Talbott's words, "can be considered the most important event of the present day."

During the visit to Moscow President Clinton will also state that "Russia must have its own powerful voice" in determining how the "situation in the sphere of security in Europe and Eurasia in the post-cold war period" will work out. "If Russia continues its course of integration...and continues to pursue a policy based on respect for neighboring states and their sovereignty and independence it will be able to join in the process of integration and the expansion of NATO," S. Talbott noted. After touching on the question of the prospects of relations with Russia, S. Talbott remarked that the Clinton

administration looks to the future with "great optimism" because "Russia has a strong president." "President Yeltsin was and remains the leader of the reform process," he stressed. "We are trying," S. Talbott added, "to encourage those forces in Russia which are actively striving to ensure that the country makes the transition from communism to integration with the rest of the world."

No Fuel Accord Expected During Clinton's Visit

LD1201130694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1159 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Russia's Fuel and Energy Ministry has not drafted any special document for President Clinton's visit to Moscow, Interfax was told by a ministry official, commenting on speculation about possible initiatives during the visit on cooperation in the sphere of fuel and energy. Although he did not rule out some urgent requests from the government, he emphasized that usually departments were asked to prepare applicable documents in advance.

Nonetheless, he suggested that Russian and American negotiators might discuss cooperation in the field and air appropriate "intentions".

As Interfax has learned, the sides have several big projects at various stages of readiness, which could place U.S. firms among the biggest investors in Russia's fuel and energy complex. According to one plan to get under way within the next few weeks, Russia will receive a \$2 Bn loan under U.S. export-import bank guarantees to buy American oil and gas extracting equipment. Besides, a project to develop two oil fields on the Sakhalin shelf is in the final stage of preparation. The deal is estimated at \$10 Bn and involves three U.S. firms. Russian officials are also considering a possible lucrative contract with Texaco to extract oil in the Archangelsk region and advance its infrastructure. The project could take 50 years to implement at the cost of over \$50 Bn.

President's May Conclude Uranium Agreement

LD1201154394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1450 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—A contract to use highly enriched uranium, obtained from dismantled nuclear weapons in Russia, may be approved by the presidents of the Russian Federation and the United States during their summit in Moscow, experts of the Russian Ministry for Atomic Energy hope.

According to a document, signed last February, and the contract, which was discussed by representatives of the two countries in September, Russia is to process 500 tonnes of weapon uranium over a period of twenty years. This uranium, after proper treatment, will be delivered to the United States as fuel for that country's nuclear

power plants in amounts worth twelve billion U.S. dollars. Russia will use the obtained money for switching its defence enterprises to civilian rails, enhancing the safety of its nuclear power plants, supporting fundamental sciences, and cleaning the environment in polluted areas.

Moreover, the Russian Ministry for Atomic Energy expects the participants of the summit to sign an agreement allocating 75 million U.S. dollars to Russian organisations from the Nunn-Lugar Fund. They will be used to build storages for weapon plutonium. The point in question is an additional allocation of 75 millions, preliminarily negotiated by the Russian Ministry for Atomic Energy and the U.S. Defence Department to pay for the work done by building organisations, to grant subsidies to the region, where the storages will be held, and also to finance social requirements.

Two such storages are to be built in Russia—one in Tomsk region and the other in Chelyabinsk region. The Ministry for Atomic Energy is looking forward to U.S. assistance in the construction of one of these storages. The construction of the other one will be financed by Russia.

Russian specialists also believe that the presidents of the two countries will discuss the earlier signed agreements and will conclude other bilateral agreements on new areas of cooperation in using atomic energy for peaceful purposes. These areas include nuclear power sources for space vehicles, joint efforts of Russian and American weapon laboratories to develop more effective procedures and technological means for the system of the International Atomic Energy Agency's guarantees against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and technologies.

State Duma Official on Visit

LD1201174594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1628 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"The very fact of the U.S. President's visit to our country shows what place Russia has in the U.S. foreign policy plans and priorities," Sergey Stankevich, head of the temporary secretariat of the State Duma, said on Wednesday.

"A personal meeting between the presidents of the two countries after a new constitutional and political reality has emerged in Russia is very important," he said.

Stankevich believes that until recently the United States had supported the most radical variant of economic reform in Russia. However, the "October-December crisis" (October revolt and December 12 elections which he also considers as a crisis) has shown that such variant has clear-cut social limits. Judging by many statements of American officials, the United States is ready to

introduce considerable changes in its relations with Russia and stop supporting radical reform based on shock therapy, he added.

Stankevich stressed that such corrections will constitute the subject of discussions during President Bill Clinton's upcoming visit.

Security Official on Arrangements

LD1201175694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1722 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Sergey Oleynik]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"I am sure that Clinton's security will be fully taken care of while he is in Moscow", a Russian security official declared.

Indeed, three security agencies are ready to guard American President Bill Clinton during his visit to Russia: the Chief Security Department of the Russian Federation, the Russian Presidential Security Team, and the United States presidential Guard. The number of people who are going to be directly involved in the protection of Clinton, who arrives late Wednesday evening, will exceed several hundred, according to First Deputy Director of the Russian Security Department Yuriy Krapivin.

If one counted up the number of auxiliary people somehow involved in the massive security effort, the numbers would run into the thousands. According to Krapivin, the Russian Interior Ministry will secure the U.S. President's travel routes and the sites which are included in the programme of his visit. The interior troops will also protect the "Radisson Slawjanskaja" hotel where President Clinton is scheduled to stay.

The Russian Federal Counter-Espionage Service is responsible for up-to-the-minute information, including reports about possible extremist conspiracies and criminal activity in Moscow. Even the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service took part in preliminary steps to guarantee Clinton's complete security.

Krapivin said that an advance group from Clinton's personal guard, which arrived with their armored cars and weapons a week ago, worked out a plan of cooperation with their Russian colleagues. The group thoroughly scouted out the president's hotel and the sites of his visits.

Program Examines Visit

LD1301000094 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1725 GMT 12 Jan 94

[From the "Details" program; by presenter Nikolay Svanidze]

[Text] Russia will shortly have one more president. Air Force One is currently in flight. In 90 minutes, it will land at Vnukovo- 2 Airport. By the aircraft steps, Bill

Clinton will be met by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, and this will mark the start of the American President's official three-day visit to Russia.

On his way to Moscow, President Bill Clinton visited Prague. Incidentally, he is flying on his own at the moment, without his family. His wife, Lady Hillary, no less well known than himself, and, possibly, his daughter Chelsea as well, will join him the day after tomorrow. Two-and-a-half hours ago, he should have had a brief conversation with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk at Kiev's Borispol Airport. One day earlier, President Bill Clinton attended the NATO Council session. [Video shows a meeting in progress with an inset of a statue of an angel; Russian troops talking; man presenting a box of candy to a little girl; NATO Secretary General Woerner meeting Czech President Havel, then Polish President Walesa].

Apparently, the North Atlantic bloc advertizes itself so well in its publicity material, and Russia so dubiously in its elections, that our neighbors in Eastern Europe and the Baltic area are knocking on NATO's door like piglets running away from the wolf. Unlike the bold piglets, though, the Europeans won't hide from us anywhere: we'll get them wherever they are, if we want to. Both Clinton and the NATO leadership are well aware of that.

The December elections in Russia frightened world public opinion with the prospect of a communist comeback or the reign of national- fascists—the most unpredictable and, consequently, alarming consequences. There was also another apprehension.

And then a man appeared who just talked, and that talking was enough to resurrect many old suspicions since the cold war and to excite politicians, and I do not rule out that now, like a tuning- fork, he says that's how one should be, and many rather unprincipled politicians may also follow that path. [Video shows Svanidze talking to Kozyrev]

[Begin recording] [Svanidze] Are President Yeltsin and you, as foreign minister, not tempted now to strike a statuesque pose, adopt a facial expression that is as patriotic as possible and talk far tougher to Clinton than he talks to Russia?

[Kozyrev] We shall do the same as we have been doing. We have always talked quite tough, it must be said. [end recording] [Video shows Yeltsin inspecting troops]

Both Boris Yeltsin and the leaders of Western countries have displayed resilience in the situation that has arisen. The Russian president has raised his eyebrows. Everything is under way. There is no reason for hysterics. If the West adopts a fair attitude toward Ukraine's attempt to revise nuclear agreements and toward the massive panic-stricken exodus of the former brothers-in-socialism towards NATO, he, Yeltsin, won't understand that. [Video shows EC meeting; Kravchuk speaking; Lithuanian President Brazauskas talking to Yeltsin; Clinton joking with Havel]

The subtle hint was taken. Clinton and other Western leaders, who were under intense pressure last week from those who favor a change in policy toward Moscow and, above all, toward Yeltsin, kept their nerve. In fact, the West was facing a dilemma. Either to throw the doors open to all-comers and thus build up a strong defensive cordon on Russia's western borders right now, in case the Russians want a bit of a fight. These tactics threaten to stiffen militarist sentiments and to bolster the extremist radical wing in Russia itself. Or to relax, not make a fuss, and realize that, if the Russians go mad and move their tanks in, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia can't be saved anyway. And so, whoever is accepted into what, there will be no stable Europe without a stable Russia. Eastern Europe itself probably understands that and is relying more on monetary than on military assistance. But the West doesn't have a bottomless pocket. [Svanidze is seen talking to Kozyrev]

[Begin Kozyrev recording] NATO has not been intimidated by the hasty demands for a quantitative expansion of its ranks. We were against that, and it must be said that the American "Partnership for Peace" blueprint actually envisages a lengthy stage, as they see it, of preparing the new states for entry to NATO. Here there is some difference of emphasis between us. We do not put the emphasis on preparation for entry to NATO, although we do not rule out the possibility that, at some stage, Russia itself may become a member of NATO. Why not? But the main thing is not that we shall be in some kind of preparatory class. The main thing for us is the actual period, a sufficiently lengthy and substantive period, of partnership. What is meant by that? Joint maneuvers, training of peacekeeping troops, let's say, for areas of conflict, and so on and so forth. [end recording] [Video shows Clinton next to Yeltsin and other EC leaders]

At the NATO session, the partners proceeded from the view that the hasty acceptance of East European countries into the organization would lead to the destabilization of Europe. This was reflected mildly in the adopted program "Partnership for Peace," which is open to Russia so long as we have the good fortune to observe one of the program's principles—civilian control of the military. [Video shows Clinton at EC meeting; ship's guns firing; Georgiy Arbatov, academician, Russian Academy of Sciences, appears]

[Begin Arbatov recording] Today we have less civilian control of the army than we had even before perestroika. [end recording] [Video: another sequence from the Kozyrev interview]

[Begin recording] [Svanidze] Has the influence of the military on the drawing up of foreign policy not grown stronger recently?

[Kozyrev] No. People have usually said that ever since, let's say, the tragic events in October. Now they say that the president or the whole government are dancing to the

tune of the military because they are obliged to them, and so on. No, there's no such thing. That's wrong.

[Svanidze] There's no dancing?

[Kozyrev] No. As for bearing them in mind—yes. We bear them in mind. [end recording]

It is beyond doubt that this whole collection of issues connected with Eastern Europe and NATO will be among the most important at the Moscow talks. A second substantial item is the problem of nuclear security and relations with Ukraine. The third is the problem of aid. President Boris Yeltsin will undoubtedly insist that it should be spelled out in detail. There will also undoubtedly be discussion here of the 43,000 million dollars that were earmarked for us by the G-7 and which are essential to the continuation of reform in Russia. [Video shows more of the Kozyrev interview]

[Begin Kozyrev recording] We shall raise the question of its being in the form of help for our emergence on to the international market, and for the activation of our own economy, while we concern ourselves with our unemployed. [end recording] [Video shows back to Arbatov]

[Begin Arbatov recording] I get the impression, quite frankly, and I think the Americans will think of it too, perhaps: was the game worth the candle? [end recording]

Western Europe and the United States are following our reforms closely. But today, exactly a month after the parliamentary elections in Russia, the U.S. President is flying to see us, and it can confidently be said that one change in the American and Western approach to events in Russia has already taken place. Today they are more interested in our stability than in the pace of our reforms. [Video shows more of the Kozyrev interview]

[Begin recording] [Svanidze] Do you equate the work of the president with work for Russia, work for democratic...?

[Kozyrev, interrupting] Yes, because this president was elected by the people, and his mandate was confirmed by the people. Will the people vote for a different president? I don't know whether I will. It will depend on what that president's character is like. But, at any rate, he will personify Russia. The constitution says that the president is the head of state, and he determines foreign policy. [end recording] [Video shows Kozyrev standing beside Yeltsin]

In fact, Kozyrev has recently been operating hand in glove with President Yeltsin, which is rare. He clearly has a subtle understanding of Yeltsin. [Video shows Clinton addressing an audience; brief clip of German President Kohl]

Clinton seems to understand him, too. At the meeting in Brussels, when greeting Chancellor Kohl, a man of solid build, Clinton said: Helmut, I thought of you all night as I watched sumo wrestling on television. I wonder what Bill Clinton associates with President Yeltsin.

Government Paper Expects 'Very Productive' Summit

PM1201125194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy report: "Bill Clinton's Visit to Moscow. NATO Is Not Approaching Russia's Borders at the Moment"]

[Text] The North Atlantic alliance summit has ended in Brussels. The main subjects discussed were questions of security in Europe and worldwide, which in practical terms took the form of the problem of expanding the alliance by including East European countries and certain former republics of the Soviet Union.

On a U.S. initiative the NATO leadership adopted the "Partnership for Peace" program, within which framework Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia are invited to collaborate with the North Atlantic alliance in creating a collective security system, but not as full members. The question of nuclear weapons on Ukraine's territory was discussed equally intensively.

According to news agency reports, U.S. President Bill Clinton called the approval of the "Partnership for Peace" plan and the fact that it proved possible to persuade Ukraine to adopt a treaty stipulating that Kiev should give up nuclear weapons "two gigantic steps in the direction of universal security."

It was not easy for Bill Clinton to press for precisely those results in the summit. As we know, proceeding on the basis that "the Western defensive alliance is faced with the historic task of extending the existing security system to East Europe," NATO Secretary General M. Woerner expressed the opinion that NATO should open its doors to all the former Warsaw Pact countries "since they are culturally and historically closely linked with the West and should restore these ties with it." But Russia, as we know, objected to this pretty resolutely, and on the eve of the meeting, Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev proposed that NATO and Russia should jointly guarantee European security.

The U.S. president managed to incline his partners to accommodate Moscow's wishes, although he had to take a fair amount of criticism for adopting this stance. Covering the results of the summit, the Western press was full of reproaches against him on the premise that, although Russia continues to be a great power despite its present economic weakness, the West should not adapt ad infinitum to its interests alone in security questions.

The question of the talks with Ukraine proceeded equally dramatically. The Ukrainian president, unable to withstand the combined pressure of the U.S. and Russian presidents, agreed to sign a document on 14 January in Moscow on the complete transfer to Russia of the nuclear weapons located on Ukraine's territory.

Beyond the shadow of a doubt, Leonid Kravchuk has decided to ignore the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decision dated 18 November which de facto enshrined Ukraine's status as a nuclear power. In all likelihood, on his return home from doing his Moscow penance, he will come up against big problems in his relationship with the parliament. But those are ultimately Leonid Kravchuk's own problems.

The main event is happening elsewhere. The U.S. President is arriving for a meeting with Boris Yeltsin today with big achievements in his foreign political activity, which will doubtless be very highly assessed in Moscow.

In a word, the first meeting between the Russian and U.S. presidents promises to be very productive.

Clinton's Visit, Moscow's Concerns Previewed

MK1201115094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Vladimir Abarinov report in the "Visit" column: "Doomed to Cooperation. Moscow Believes that Russian-U.S. Partnership Has Entered a 'Stage of Maturity'"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Russian Foreign Ministry believes that the message that Clinton will bring to Moscow is that the reforms need "social cushions," and expects the U.S. side to offer its assistance in this field. Diplomats are recommending to President Yeltsin to raise the question of the United States' increasing its influence in international financial organizations with a view to unfreezing the funds earmarked for Russia. At the same time, in Russia's opinion, the economic effect from the abolition of discriminatory limitations in trade substantially exceeds the scale of any existing aid programs.

Deep in their hearts U.S. officials have presumably understood that they are incapable of influencing the development of the situation in Russia. Even so they continue to support Yeltsin in the interest of global security. The level of confidence achieved by the leaders of Russia and the United States indeed has no precedent. During the visit the presidents are expected to sign a document tentatively called the Moscow Declaration. Although its final text has not been coordinated yet, it is known to contain a number of new ideas in the sphere of disarmament and nonproliferation of mass destruction weapons, also defining the sides' general approaches to the concept of Partnership for Peace. It is not ruled out that in the near future Moscow will announce its intention to acquire the status of an associate NATO member state [strana-partner NATO]. The agenda for the talks on security will include such topics as prohibiting the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests, and the retargeting of strategic nuclear forces. According to a high-ranking Russian diplomat who spoke confidentially, Moscow is "advancing the idea" of Russia and the United States

making available special units for peacekeeping operations under the aegis of the United Nations and the CSCE. On the Russian side such a unit will be the 27th Motorized Infantry Division and on the U.S. side the 3d Infantry Division.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry regards President Kravchuk's consent to arrive in Moscow and fully reaffirm Ukraine's obligations under the Lisbon Protocol as a major breakthrough. Russian diplomats believe that thereby an end has been put to debates on the fate of the Russian nuclear weapons stationed on Ukrainian territory.

At the same time, the Russian-U.S. strategic partnership which, according to a highly placed Russian diplomat, has entered a "stage of maturity," is far from ideal. In particular Moscow is not happy over Washington's attempts to internationalize the conflicts on CIS territory. Russia considers this territory to be the zone of its special interests. Moscow is also unhappy with the fact that it is not being admitted to talks on creating a new international organization which is to replace the defunct Cocom. [passage omitted]

Clinton Arrives in Moscow, Welcomed by Chernomyrdin

LD1201230494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2228 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin welcomed U.S. President Bill Clinton who arrived in Moscow early on Thursday [13 January].

The official welcoming ceremony with a guard of honour and national anthems was not held because of the late time of arrival.

From the airport Clinton's motorcade left for the "Radisson-Slavyanskaya" hotel where the U.S. President will be staying. It is a 30-minute drive from the airport to the hotel.

Yeltsin Welcomes Clinton

LD1301072794 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0614 GMT 13 Jan 94

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin at a welcoming ceremony for U.S. President Bill Clinton at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President of the United States of America, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you as an honored guest of the Russian Federation. Your day is beginning in our famous and legendary St. George's Hall in the Grand Kremlin Palace, in which the names and historic deeds of our great ancestors are reflected. This setting does, as it were, provide the starting point for our talks.

I well remember our first meeting in Vancouver. I remember how we laid the foundations for a U.S.-Russian partnership and how personal friendship arose between us. I am sure that this is a basis for ensuring that the talks this time will be even more in-depth, more practical, and more global in nature.

I think that you will retain a good memory of people in Russia, of Muscovites, and that you will sense this fully in your meetings with people. Welcome to Russia. Welcome to Moscow.

Yeltsin, Clinton Begin Talks

LD1301074294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0732 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Genadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The Russian-American summit talks began in the Kremlin today in the morning immediately after the official greeting ceremony.

After the beginning of the talks both presidents expressed confidence that the dialogue between Russia and the U.S. would promote the consolidation of world peace and tranquility, as well as the deepening of cooperation between the two countries.

On the first stage the talks are held in a narrow format at the Green Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. Aside from Yeltsin and Clinton, they are attended by Dmitry Ryurikov, assistant to the Russian president, and Strobe Talbott, special adviser to the U.S. secretary of state on the new independent states.

According to the information from reliable sources, during their first one-hour meeting the Russian and U.S. presidents are expected to discuss issues dealing with economic and political cooperation between the two countries, the implementation of the Russian reform, the consolidation of international security, specifically, the settlement of regional conflicts and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Probably, they will touch upon the mechanism of putting into effect Ukraine's decision on the withdrawal of nuclear warheads from its territory.

Presidents Discuss 'Broad Range of Issues'

LD1301091694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0903 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—ITAR-TASS learnt from reliable sources on Thursday [13 January] that Russian and U.S. Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton discussed broad range of issues at the Kremlin's Green Hall in a narrow format.

The issues included results of the general elections in Russia on December 12, progress in Russian reforms as

well as questions of strengthening international security and nuclear non-proliferation.

In this connection, the sides stressed the importance of Ukraine's readiness to sign, together with Russia and the United States, a document on the withdrawal of nuclear warheads from its territory. The document will be signed in Moscow on Friday.

The sides also discussed the situation with a Russian radar station in Latvia.

The two presidents made a short tour of the Moscow Kremlin after the first round of talks.

Following the tour, the talks will be resumed in a broader format.

Continue Kremlin Discussions

LD1301101994 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1008 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Genadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 13 *ITAR-TASS*—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President Bill Clinton after walking between buildings in the Kremlin during a short break in their discussions, returned to St. Catherine's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace where they were joined by other members of the two delegations for further discussions.

In opening the second session Boris Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the first round of talks. "We discussed the situation in Russia after the elections to the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the new Constitution, we touched upon the political and economic developments and examined the situation in the United States, as well as a number of questions relating to bilateral relations", Yeltsin said.

The Russian delegation taking part in the second round of discussions includes Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, and National Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov. This points to the likely subjects of the discussion—Russian-American economic cooperation and assistance to Russia's reforms. The economic and political situation and security in the Commonwealth of Independent States and Europe are also likely to be discussed.

Bill Clinton is expected to dwell on the Partnership for Peace programme and to summarise the results of the NATO summit in Brussels.

Kozyrev Meets Christopher, Approves NATO Summit Results

LD1301105494 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1012 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By Georgiy Shmelev, *ITAR-TASS* diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan—Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met today with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in the yellow reception room of the Great Kremlin Palace. The heads of the foreign policy departments of the two states examined a package of Russian-American documents to be signed in the course of the visit to Moscow by the U.S. President.

Galina Sidorova, the Russian minister's political adviser, told an *ITAR-TASS* correspondent that three agreements have been made ready for signing: Air traffic; health and biomedical research cooperation; and cooperation in the area of studying the effects of radiation on people's health and on the environment. A memorandum of intentions and cooperation in the sphere of export controls is also ready for signing. A joint Russian-American statement on the Near East will also be adopted.

Galina Sidorova said that the Russian and the U.S. Presidents will sign the main document—the Moscow Declaration. They will also issue a statement on human rights and a statement on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Andrey Kozyrev and Warren Christopher focused especially on the examination of the results of the NATO summit meeting in Brussels, the range of issues concerning mutual relations with Ukraine, and the position of the two sides on the eve of the trilateral Russian-American-Ukrainian summit meeting on 14 January, Galina Sidorova noted. The heads of the Russian and U.S. foreign policy departments discussed in detail the problems of achieving a settlement in Bosnia.

Andrey Kozyrev emphasized in the course of the conversation that "approval of the Partnership for Peace program was the key result of the NATO session in Brussels." The formula is completely to Russia's liking. Andrey Kozyrev stressed: "We understand it to mean a broad and equal cooperation among all the interested sides."

Yeltsin Press Secretary on First Clinton-Yeltsin Talks

LD1301115094 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1127 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Genadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 13 *TASS*—After the end of the first round of Russian-American summit talks, press secretary of the Russian president Vyacheslav Kostikov

told journalists that, from the point of view of Russia, the meeting is taking place "in a new political situation for the first time since the adoption of the Russian Constitution."

"Russia has joined the club of constitutional democracies, and this cannot but influence the talks," Kostikov stressed.

"The role played by the great powers in the world will steadily grow," he believes. Kostikov reminded that the hope for stabilisation in the world, cherished by people quite recently, has not come true in a number of regions, specifically, Yugoslavia, the transcaucasian region and Latin America. He said "the world needs a strong new order, and Russia will play the role of a great power in it."

Speaking about the content of the first round of talks between Yeltsin and Clinton, Kostikov pointed out that "they began in an atmosphere of genuine partnership." In his opinion, both sides proceed from the assumption that nothing can be done in the world without Russia and the United States.

Kostikov said that during the first round of talks the sides discussed the problem of the correlation of power of the president and the parliament. Yeltsin told the U.S. President about the situation in the country after the December elections in Russia. They also mentioned the recent summit meeting of the NATO member states in Brussels.

Clinton set forth the main ideas of his "Partnership for Peace" initiative. According to Kostikov, the initiative is still little known in Russia. "So far it has been an attractive formula which should be thought over carefully and thoroughly," he said.

Kostikov said as well that the problem of a possible expansion of NATO was also mentioned during the first round of talks. Yeltsin and Clinton stated the need, as well as their intention, for promoting the elimination of all dividing lines in Europe. The two presidents discussed as well the implementation of the agreements, reached at the Tokyo summit meeting of the seven main industrially developed countries.

Security Council's Lobov Comments on Clinton Visit

LD1301125194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1152 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Genadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The second session of the Yeltsin-Clinton summit today lasted longer than scheduled - more than ninety minutes instead of the appointed 70 minutes.

National Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov, who took part in the discussions, said the session mainly

centered around economic cooperation and U.S. assistance to Russian reform, including financing and closer contacts with the interantional financial organisations.

According to Lobov, Yeltsin spoke in detail about positive shifts and stressed that a slackening of pace is out of the question.

Bill Clinton said the United States is set to render maximum support to Russian reform and said his country should extend more active support to Russia in the social sphere.

Discussions are scheduled to resume on Friday morning after the tripartite summit in which Yeltsin, Clinton and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk will work towards "the historic agreement to make the world a safer place with fewer nuclear weapons". As President Clinton put it on Thursday morning.

Later today, Clinton will join President Yeltsin for private dinner in Novo-Ogarevo, the Russian president's dacha.

Commentary Views Summit

LD1201135894 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Commentary by Vladislav Chernukha; from the "News and Views" program]

[Text] On Thursday [13 January] the Russian-American talks at the highest level are to open in Moscow. The United States President, Bill Clinton, arrives in Moscow on Wednesday evening. What does Moscow expect from the talks between President Boris Yeltsin and President Bill Clinton? Vladislav Chernukha, accredited to the summit, got the following information at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and this is what he writes:

The first official visit of Bill Clinton to Russia, in the first instance, should confirm the progress that has been achieved in bilateral relations between the two countries in the past year. Second, it is expected that concrete ways of tuning the relationship between these countries, and also the perfecting of the cooperation mechanism and joint actions on the international arena will be worked out.

It is difficult to conclude that the bilateral relationship between Russia and America are developing smoothly, without hitches. Naturally, there are complications and problems. But at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the view is that the most important thing is that both Russia and America are embarking on a new stage, a stage of mature relationship and mature strategic partnership.

The difficulties on the road in these matters are connected, first of all, with all those problems of the world that Russia and America are called upon to solve. By the way, the problems are not only global but (?uncommon), (?for the) developments in the world have entered a new

stage. Since we run into new problems and are meeting new challenges, specific differences in approaches do sometimes appear. It is necessary to add that these problems and underestimation in certain issues [as heard], had led to unnecessary waste of time in the establishment of Russian-American partnership.

Besides, as two great powers, Russia and America have their specific interests that do not always coincide, and this is natural. The most important thing is that both countries should aim at further development and perfection of their partnership.

According to the Russian Foreign Ministry, this will become clear and will be elaborated at the impending summit. Taking into consideration the fact that both Russia and America are powers, potentially great in significance and influence in the world, and taking into account how their bilateral relationship develops to a great extent to such a level, (?that) development in the world is accordingly affected. [sentence as heard]

Vladislav Chernukha sought the views of the Russian Foreign Ministry about the reported meeting planned for Friday between Russia, America, and Ukraine in Moscow, and the expected signing of a three-sided document. The Russian Foreign Ministry said that the most significant thing about the document was the confirmation by Ukraine of its intention to become a nuclear free country, and the elimination of all the strategic nuclear weapons on its territory and its readiness to join the accord on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

In the opinion of the Russian Foreign Ministry, this step will strengthen security, not only in Europe, but, more importantly, in the whole world.

U.S.-Moscow-Kiev Talks Seen Having No Losers

MK1301100094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 1

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Stage" rubric with the general headline: "Russian President Is American President's Best Friend. The Importance of Talks To Begin in Moscow Today Has Been Enhanced by a Compromise Between Moscow, Washington, and Kiev"]

[Text] The prolonged discussion of the possibility of a Russian-American-Ukrainian rendezvous in Moscow has produced a compromise option: the U.S. President makes a brief stopover in Kiev's Borispol airport and later—after the Russian-American talks are over—Leonid Kravchuk arrives in Moscow to join Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin. Thus, each side can point to the tractability of the other two. Anatoliy Adamishin, an experienced diplomat, was probably the closest to the truth as he described this in a brief interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA as a process of trilateral concessions. Let us try, however, to see how the trilateral talks may influence the views and images of each of the three participants.

The United States. After James Baker [as published], who was called "the last Union president," Bill Clinton is reaffirming America's stabilizing role as the main arbiter among the former Soviet republics. Russia's ambitions as a sovereign master of the post-Soviet geopolitical space have not been substantiated: Moscow will have to share the space with Washington. In addition, Clinton has once again demonstrated that it is he, not Yeltsin, who is capable of pressuring Kravchuk into making concessions—although Kravchuk depends on Yeltsin much more than he does on Clinton.

Ukraine. Kravchuk managed to arrange Clinton's arrival in Kiev. In exchange, however, Ukraine will still have to give up its nuclear arms. But in fact it never really planned to keep them. Apparently, Clinton's arrival was the price the Ukrainian chiefs may see as sufficient. Not the arrival itself, but its consequences as well, that is, joint Russian-American guarantees of Ukrainian security, something that will insure Kiev against the ambitions of unpredictable Russian politicians, such as Zhirinovskiy, should they continue to triumph in the future. Ukraine obtains a status that is to a certain extent comparable with that of the Baltic states.

Russia. Boris Yeltsin managed to demonstrate the role his country is playing in the former Soviet Union: Leonid Kravchuk and Bill Clinton will negotiate on his territory and he himself will be involved in the talks. At the same time, Moscow had to move over a little to let Washington into the post-Soviet geopolitics. Moscow succeeded in forcing Kiev to give up nuclear weapons, though, but it was known in Russia as well as in Ukraine that the latter will be unable to keep the weapons all the same.

Hence, the Russian-American-Ukrainian talks may in the end bring about changes in the post-Soviet space that have not been expected in Moscow, Washington, or Kiev. For the time being, however, each of the three sides is celebrating its expedient victory.

Clinton Visit, Partnership Issues Viewed

PM1201182594 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by observer Aleksandr Golts: "Russia and United States: Is Mature Partnership Taking Over from 'Breakthroughs'"]

[Text] Journalists are well acquainted with the situation: The people who prepare the latest summit meeting try to "boost" it, to lend it more importance than it actually has. It looks as though something like the opposite has happened with U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Russia. On the eve of the visit Russian and U.S. representatives warned very frankly that no special sensations were to be expected. And this despite the fact that the program for the visit envisaged very important events. They included the signing of the Russian-U.S. declaration containing, informed sources in the Foreign Ministry assert, provisions on the nontargeting of the two

states' strategic forces against each other. They also include the sensational meeting with the Ukrainian president's participation.

In brief, there were many opportunities for "boosting" the visit. But they decided to refrain from doing this. And it was not a question of the modesty of diplomats and politicians. In my view the point is that U.S.-Russian relations have indeed reached a level when they do not need breakthroughs. That is, they do not need risky political decisions based on the intuition of leaders and the degree of their trust in each other. These relations to all appearances have indeed reached a stage which can be called, as the documents which have been prepared call it, a mature strategic partnership.

Some people may say that this is also an attempt to make out what is desired as reality. Our countries' positions are too different now and their clout in the world is too different. That is true, just as it is true that over the past few months and weeks each side has had the opportunity to take a realistic look at its partner and to rid itself of unjustified hopes. Whether they are illusions of the creation of a new world order with the United States' undoubted leadership. Or hopes for a rapid way out of the crisis in Russia as a result of aid from abroad.

As a result of this sober assessment the sides concluded that we need each other. And Washington needs Moscow no less than Moscow needs Washington. Take questions of economic cooperation, which have become central in bilateral relations. On this score you can hear diametrically opposed views. It would be wrong to say that the United States is not rendering aid to Russia. Approximately \$2 billion a year are being assigned for this purpose—more than to any other foreign state. Yet after all this aid is simply insignificant if you bear in mind the scale of the reforms undertaken in Russia. It has now finally become clear to everyone that to implement them Moscow needs not credit, still less humanitarian aid. It needs honest partnership, whose aim would be to emerge onto the world market with its own output, already entirely competitive today, be it aluminium or space high technology. The aim of this partnership is to ensure conditions for the broad investment of private business funds in our economy.

But for that to happen it is not enough simply to repeal COCOM [the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] or to renounce discriminatory legislation of the cold war times. We must start to remove trade and customs barriers. Russia also expects the United States to influence those international financial institutions which are so far very cool toward the need to support our reforms.

But does that mean we expect charity from the United States? Obviously not. I think the Clinton administration realizes that whether Russia remains a democratic, peace-loving state depends on the success of the reforms, and it is that which will determine whether or not global stability will be successfully ensured on our planet or not.

After a number of painful defeats in foreign policy the U.S. Administration seems to have agreed that this global stability is possible only on the basis of a new Russian-U.S. partnership. Only by joint efforts is it possible to respond to the threats which have now appeared in the security field.

For instance we must ensure a regime of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Here too we cannot fail to mention the forthcoming meeting in Moscow between the presidents of Russia, the United States, and Ukraine. It is believed that documents will be signed which will finally determine Ukraine's movement toward nuclear-free status. The voices of skeptics are already being heard: It has become the Ukrainian leader's style to review agreements that have already been concluded. But one way or another it remains a fact that the United States and Russia are persistently moving together toward the solution of this complex issue.

One more confirmation of the level of this cooperation: The American "partnership for peace" plan. One cannot fail to see that it was born and was adopted primarily with a consideration for Russia's legitimate interests in the field of security. It is entirely possible that Moscow will announce its participation in it. Here Russia sees in partnership for peace not an end in itself but one element of the architecture of European security that is taking shape.

Peacemaking still has to become a notable element of cooperation between Russia and the United States. There is not yet complete clarity here in approaches, there are different views of how to implement the settlement of local conflicts particularly in the post-Soviet area. But the fact that the question has already been raised of assigning Russian and U.S. troop formations to carry out emergency peacekeeping operations under the UN mandate says a lot. In general Moscow believes that our strategic partnership is a good basis for discussing problems of the fundamental restructuring of the entire system of international relations.

And these are just a few of the problems which are to be discussed during the Russian-U.S. meeting. And in addition there is a very broad agenda: from agreements on human rights to documents on cooperation in eliminating chemical weapons, from problems of banning the production of fissionable materials for military purposes and banning nuclear materials to the coordination of actions in a Near East settlement.

It is not simple to earmark the main, key problem and we should scarcely do so. I very much liked the working term "comprehensive" which is used in our day with regard to Clinton's visit. It is not only that during the visit the entire complex of bilateral and global problems is being discussed. It is also that the importance of each of these problems can only be understood in combination with others. And only in this way, by assessing what

states' strategic forces against each other. They also include the sensational meeting with the Ukrainian president's participation.

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is happening as a package, can we reach the conclusion that our states really do need close cooperation with each other.

Clinton Emerges as 'Main Lobbyist' for Partnership

PM1301111194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy article: "President Clinton—the Main Lobbyist for the Program of Partnership"]

[Text] The NATO Council session which approved America's "Partnership for Peace" program has just ended, and literally the very next day U.S. President Bill Clinton left for state visits to countries in Eastern Europe. It is not hard to guess that the purpose of his meetings and talks with the leaders of the region's states is to explain and publicize as much as possible the new NATO initiative. Therefore to some extent Clinton may be regarded as the major lobbyist for the idea of East-West partnership.

The meetings that the U.S. President has already held on 11 and 12 January with the leaders of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary—the countries of the so-called Visegrad group—confirm that idea. During the talks with Czech President Vaclav Havel, Clinton stated that although the program of partnership does not guarantee the new allies complete protection from external aggression it does nevertheless offer the possibility even before the end of this year of joining in the process of common combat training with the NATO armies and of participating in joint exercises.

According to information from sources close to the U.S. President, the aim of Clinton's meetings with Polish President Lech Walesa, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, and Slovak President Michal Kovac is to hold similar talks.

The first impromptu action has occurred during Clinton's European tour. I am talking about the U.S. President's unscheduled brief stopover in Kiev and the talks with Leonid Kravchuk. In Kiev, according to White House press service spokesmen, the sides are to discuss questions connected with the Ukrainian President's final resolve to renounce the strategic nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory and agree to their dismantling and shipment to Russia. The U.S. side is ready to grant \$175 million from the Nunn-Lugar fund to finance this action. Ukraine is also being promised its share of the \$1 billion which it is thought will accrue from the sale of weapons-grade uranium to the West.

Although it is believed in the United States that Ukraine is simply obliged to do this—in order to fulfill its own commitments under international treaties—Washington is ready in principle to offer Kiev a number of additional inducements. Specifically, there is mention of a figure of around \$1.8 billion to develop (or more accurately to maintain the viability of) Ukraine's power industry and

achieve at least a minimum stabilization of its national currency. For the time being, however, all these are just suggestions.

U.S.-Russian Relations Seen Undergoing 'Serious Test'

MK1201120094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 2, 9-16 Jan 94 (signed to press 11 Jan) p 5A

[Aleksey Pushkov article: "Bill Clinton and the 'Z Factor'"]

[Text] The U.S. President will be going to Moscow immediately after his meeting in Prague with leaders of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia, with respect to whom he did not think it necessary personally to explain the meaning of the decision made in Brussels. As is known, it did not quite satisfy these countries. The reasons for this lie both in foreign and internal politics: The United States has a large Polish population. They constitute a powerful political and electoral lobby which is closely watching the administration's approach to Poland's admission to NATO. It was not accidental that on the eve of Clinton's European tour, U.S. Vice President Al Gore offered an explanation of U.S. policy in Milwaukee, of all places, with its large Polish community.

Reading Clinton's speech (the president had to give the text of his speech to Gore following the unexpected death of his mother), Gore laid special emphasis on the fact that the Partnership for Peace is a real step toward the admission of Poland and other East European countries to full NATO membership. This argument presumably became the main one in the course of Clinton's meetings with the East European leaders in Prague.

In Moscow, on the other hand, it would be most logical for Clinton to present the "second face" of NATO's two-faceted initiative and insist that the United States has fully taken Russia's interests into account and has sought to avoid such decisions that might be perceived as attempted geopolitical isolation. Incidentally, there is a considerable grain of truth in this: It was the U.S. Administration that initiated the idea of partnership, having been confronted with an extremely complicated problem of simultaneously taking into account the interests of East Europe and Russia and also its own interests and the interests of its bloc allies as well as NATO's real capabilities. The authors of the idea are apparently General John Shalikashvili, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Strobe Talbott, until recently in charge of the entire Russian policy in the U.S. State Department, who was then appointed first deputy to Secretary of State Christopher.

The Clinton administration should be given its due: In a fairly complex and extremely conflicting situation it has chosen apparently the sole correct option. It was also dictated by the fact that politically Bill Clinton is almost inseparably linked to Boris Yeltsin and his fate. Up to

now Russia's relatively successful advance down the path of democratic development has been seen as one of the major success stories for the administration—which, incidentally, have been few and far between on the foreign political scene. Clinton has invested such political capital in Boris Yeltsin that should Yeltsin collapse, Clinton will suffer a colossal defeat. Along with the failures in Somalia and Bosnia, this could drastically undermine the positions and authority of his administration not only in international affairs but in America itself.

Already now Clinton's unqualified support for President Yeltsin is drawing sharp criticism in the United States, which is rising as the situation in Russia destabilizes. Therefore it is not ruled out that as a result of the trip the administration's line will be adjusted somewhat. Prior to the visit the White House announced that the president intends to meet with representatives of broad political forces, including communists but excluding Zhirinovskiy. Strobe Talbott also made it clear that the administration intends to expand contacts with representatives of the democratic opposition and stop focusing on Yeltsin alone.

Meanwhile the "Z factor," as Western journalists have dubbed Zhirinovskiy, is turning for Clinton into a perennial headache and a major element in political decision-making. Practically the entire U.S. press is talking about the revival of imperial nationalism in Russia, finding confirmation for this even in deeds and statements by Yeltsin and Kozyrev. Clinton is being called upon to do away with the legacy of Yalta, that is to say, with consideration for Russian interests with respect to Eastern Europe. The intensity of debate in the United States is fairly high. Moreover, there is no unity within the administration itself: According to some reports, even prior to Zhirinovskiy's victory Secretary of State Christopher spoke in favor of the NATO Council session in Brussels giving a clearer signal to the East Europeans that they would soon be admitted to NATO.

Thus, Russian-American relations are again being subjected to a very serious test of durability, when the public background in the West is clearly unfavorable for Russia. Will Clinton manage to find that solely correct note that will allow him to avoid the traps and dangers involved in supporting such a leader as Boris Yeltsin and at the same time preserve the existing capital of relations and links? For the U.S. side it will apparently be especially important to avoid a fundamental and at the same time fairly probable mistake—to take Russia's aspiration to maintain its legitimate national interests for the consequence of a sharp strengthening in the positions of Zhirinovskiy and hard-line forces. Such a temptation in the United States and the West as a whole today is extremely great. Yet there can be no better aid to Zhirinovskiy and company than to deny Russia's right to its own policy and its own national priorities.

Shcherbakov: Stimuli for Russian-U.S. Cooperation Needed

LD1201152594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1434 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"No doubt, the visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Russia will strengthen political interaction between the two countries. One would like to hope it would also promote technical and economic cooperation", Vladimir Shcherbakov, president of the International Foundation for Assisting Privatisation and Foreign Investment, told ITAR-TASS. "It is wrong when potential of the two countries is used to one tenth of a per cent".

Shcherbakov expressed perplexity that COCOM restrictions on the granting of new technologies to Russia have not yet been lifted. "It is not easy for Russia to receive technologically perfect products from the United States. Russia needs such products for economic development, for market development. U.S. companies do not use sufficiently vast opportunities for investment in Russia that brings mutual advantage".

Shcherbakov said that his foundation and the Lemont Brothers firm secured a tender for a feasibility study for the development of the Moscow aviation junction. Considerable advantage is promised by a private telecommunications network in Russia that is being created by joint effort of the foundation and the U.S. Andrew company.

Shcherbakov said there are plans for joint utilisation of missile silos jointly with several U.S. companies. Large amount of equipment, valuable metals and materials remain during the elimination of strategic missiles in silos. All this will be extracted and used.

U.S. firms are offered to participate in the implementation of the Russian programme for the utilisation of radioactive waste from submarines that completed their service. "This problem is encountered by Russia and the United States and form the point of view of ecology by the whole world", he said. "Russian scientists are far advanced in the working out of the technology for the utilisation of radioactive waste. It is now for the Russian and U.S. Governments to finance the works", he said.

Russian Uranium Dumping in U.S. Viewed

PM120115594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 5

[Report by Aleksandr Platkovskiy: "Russia Suffering First Losses in Uranium War With United States"]

[Text] Thousands of tonnes of Russian uranium are ready for dispatch to the United States, but the opponents of the multimillion deal are trying to thwart it.

Our exporters lost at least \$200 million last year because of tough restrictions on the export of Russian uranium to

the United States. A number of U.S. uranium extracting enterprises, supported by the Department of Commerce, have accused Russia of dumping and virtually forced the signing of a discriminatory agreement whose terms reduced to a minimum the sale of natural and slightly enriched uranium on the U.S. market.

Our experts believe that this is only the first eruption of the trade war between the two largest producers of this output. It looks as though Russia has little chance of victory despite the fact that it may gain some indulgences in the next few days for the import of its uranium to the United States.

In late January the agreement initialed during U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's visit to Moscow should enter into force. Russia will be able to dispatch to the U.S. market up to 3,000 tonnes of natural uranium and 1,000 tonnes of slightly enriched uranium. It will be used as fuel for U.S. nuclear electric power stations. Supplies to a total sum of \$200 million are planned for two years. In the opinion of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL the agreement pursues a purely political aim—helping Russia financially.

But Russian exporters expect that the opponents of the uranium contract will be able to block it. IZVESTIYA was told by Aleksey Grigoryev, director of the Russian "Uranservis" firm, who has had gruelling talks on the subject for two years, that the Americans are prepared to stand to the death to bar Russian competitors from their market. The head of our firm is very skeptical about the indulgences which we have now managed to achieve. The new agreement, in his opinion, is still discriminatory. The United States will buy from Russia just as much uranium as U.S. producers can sell of this energy carrier on the domestic market. The "linkage" principle makes talk on free trade an empty sound, Aleksey Grigoryev believes.

The "Uranservis" director said it was unfair to accuse Russia of dumping. He said that our raw material has never been sold in the United States at prices below prime cost. But the U.S. Department of Commerce, which spent a year carrying out an antidumping study, has refused to recognize the Russian side's information as authentic, on the grounds that it comes from a country with a nonmarket economy.

The uranium extracting sector remains a top secret one in Russia and U.S. experts believe that the labor of prisoners is still used at the mines. That is how the low cost of mining is ensured.

The "Uranservis" director does not have information about the annual extraction volume of this strategic raw material but he announced that stocks in Russia are sufficient for many years. Storehouses have been full since 1989 when the sector stopped working for defense needs, Aleksey Grigoryev said.

According to unconfirmed Western assessments total stocks of enriched uranium alone in Russia are 50-70

percent more than the total stocks of all other countries. With this resource Russia has nonetheless been deprived of selling even a small proportion because of tough competition, primarily from the United States which, according to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, controls half the world market in uranium products. Russia controls only 5 percent.

Kozyrev Advocates 'Partnership' With NATO

AU1201135594 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
10 Jan 94 pp 1,2

["Article Received Through RIA-Novosti Exclusively for ADEVARUL" by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: "Russia and NATO"]

[Text] The tendency to establish a democratic Europe as a whole is being thwarted by the tendency to break it up and the appearance of new threats and dangers. Which of these tendencies is going to prevail? This greatly depends on the decisions that will be adopted in Brussels and by the CSCE in Budapest.

Toward what goals should the general security system that is going to be established be directed? What criteria are to be used to establish this system? What possible ways are there for this system to come about?

One cannot say that there is a crisis of solutions—apparently with "only one way" that is effective—to European security issues. These solutions are based on two myths that are believed by their supporters as being axioms of current European policy. First, we talk about the thesis that there is a "security vacuum" and a "gray zone" in Central Europe, which is condemned inevitably to become Russia's sphere of expansion. And second, we talk about the thesis of "Russia's move toward a nationalistic, imperialist policy" after the recent parliamentary elections.

By putting the two affirmations together, one can conclude that NATO must defend Central European countries from the imminent pressure coming from the East.

To accept the thesis of the "security vacuum" would mean to reject precisely the essence of the general European process, the way in which it is described in the Paris Charter, namely the unity of democratic peoples in Europe. This would be the greatest failure of the orientation of the entire European policy, which, apparently, in spite of unavoidable difficulties, brought about the unification of Germany and ensured the destruction of the totalitarian monsters of the 20th century.

If we consider the worst-case scenario—the revival of Russian imperialism—then we should start, not from the hypothesis of "Soviet tanks" pouring into the West, but from a replay of the Yugoslav drama in the former USSR. The result would be tens of millions of refugees, catastrophe in great industrial complexes, and the danger posed by the use of tactical nuclear weapons. What will NATO be able to do in such a situation to

defend its Eastern members? Two Chernobyls would be more than enough for all of Europe. The "guard on the [River] Bug" would not be able to save anybody.

Among other things, this scenario—the worst possible—might be provoked precisely by a hasty expansion of NATO. It would serve the extremists in Russia as the most convincing argument in favor of a revival of the Russian empire to reject the "pressure of the West." Thus, the strategy of "the most evil scenario" is dangerous because it carries in itself a forecast that can very easily become reality.

The fear of a new "Russian threat" can be eliminated first of all through a partnership with democratic Russia, which has embarked on a path of establishing a rule-of-law state and a market economy. The foreign policy promoted by Russia's president has already proved its orientation toward achieving the national interest of the country through partnership and not through confrontation with the surrounding world. This foreign policy is sanctioned in a democratic Constitution. Russia does not have territorial claims on any country in the world, and thus no claims on Central or Eastern European countries either. Russia's new military doctrine directs its armed forces exclusively toward defending the country and its allies and toward peace operations in accordance with Russia's international engagements.

As far as the results of the parliamentary elections are concerned, I am convinced that there can be no fertile ground for any real fascist outbursts in Russia, a country that in World War II took more sacrifices than any other country in the world to the shrine of the victory over fascism. The electorate cast their votes not for a "campaign against the West" or "to set out for the South Seas" and not for the forced restoration of the Soviet Union or of the socialist camp. They voted against the ambitions and arrogance of certain reformers, against their lack of ability to explain to the people the goal of reform in simple, human language, and against the current lack of social protection for the population and the inadequacy of the fight against crime. The Russian democrats have already started to draw the necessary conclusions from the awakening lessons administered to them by the parliamentary elections. But there is not and will never be any "flirtation" with right-wing extremism. We condemn all overt or covert forms of extremism, aggressive nationalism, and fascism.

The West in turn must also draw conclusions and correct the tone and the manner of its dialogue with Russia. Advice and recommendations have no room in this dialogue. The partner starts off on the wrong foot by presenting certain proposals that we must either adopt entirely or reject entirely, without the right to make certain adjustments to it, in accordance with our own interests.

Now is the time when Russia should feel more strongly foreign support for its reform process. An accurately worked out, detailed strategy of cooperation between

Russia and its democratic allies in the West is required now. We need new strategic schemes and mechanisms to implement them that would thoroughly reflect the current degree of maturity in our relations. And most important: One should proceed from promises of large scale cooperation made to Russia in Tokyo to the fulfillment of those promises.

In the process of establishing a new architecture of Europe it is important to take into account a number of criteria, such as:

- a balanced approach, in subsequent stages to the European security system. The methods of "shock diplomacy" and the policy of the "fait accompli" should be excluded. The Russian side is in favor of broad consultations with all the interested states.
- the open nature of regional organizations and institutions as a guarantee of their appropriate adaptation to the current European realities. Russia has no right to dictate who should and who should not join NATO, but we have the right to count on the fact that the North Atlantic Alliance will take into account the particularities of the transition period, which is inevitably a long-term process. And if we were to talk about a longer term process, it should confirm the position included in the documents through which NATO declares itself open to accept all democratic states in the Euro-Atlantic region. One should not exclude a priori that in the future Russia will also request to be accepted into NATO. It is important to ensure an effective partnership, based on equal rights in the period of transition and of mutual adaptation.
- ensuring an equal level of security for each European state. The emergence of "first degree security and second degree security," of "gray zones," of "special spheres of influence," of "isolated regions," or of "cordons sanitaires" in Europe are inadmissible.
- the preservation of a contract-juridical base for European security.
- the elimination of territorial claims in interstate relations in Europe.

The major goals of the strategy of partnership that we are proposing in the political sphere and in the area of security must be the following:

- first: to develop Euro-Atlantic cooperation. The CSCE should be turned into a political organization for all the regions (a general regional organization), and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council into an organization of independent political and military cooperation, but closely connected with the CSCE. Their goal should be to coordinate the efforts of NATO, the Western European Union, and the CIS on international security, achieving peace, and ensuring the active defense of the European ethnic minorities' rights to their language and other rights. I believe that

a great step in this respect would be to adopt at the Rome session of the CSCE a declaration on fighting aggressive nationalism.

- second: to create a system of mutual guarantees for the security of Central and Eastern European countries. The stronger interstate relations are, the more durable the nature of their relations will be.
- third: I welcome the proposal of my German colleague Kinkel to conclude certain conventions of cooperation and consultation between NATO on the one hand and Central and Eastern European countries, Russia, and Ukraine on the other. The opening of a NATO- CIS communications channel would also be useful.
- fourth: to increase the capacity of European countries to ensure peace. For the time being, we should say it openly, East and West have not found a common way to respond to local conflicts in Yugoslavia or the former USSR, although meanwhile these conflicts have become a great problem for European security.
- fifth: to ensure the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in Europe. It is not correct to present the Russian-Ukrainian dispute around the issue of strategic missiles as an episode in the process of dividing the Soviet inheritance. Here we are talking about ways to prevent the creation of a breach in the regime of nuclear nonproliferation. The strategy of European partnership should foresee strong encouragement for the strict observance of the accord on nonproliferation of nuclear weapon.

Certainly, separate discussions are required by the economic component of the partnership and the essence of those discussions would be to move from the stage of certain chronically delayed programs to moves to include Russia in the international division of labor on an equal basis and without discrimination, and to facilitate its access to European markets.

The dialogue on the issue of partnership for Europe is already actively developing. I hope that the NATO summit, through its balanced and farsighted decisions, will mark a useful contribution to the development of this dialogue. The members of the North Atlantic Alliance can find in Russia an interesting and responsible partner for drafting this strategy.

NATO Remains Open to Other European States

LD1201161094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1509 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—It seems that strong emotions expressed by some politicians from East-European countries and the Baltic states demanding to immediately admit them into the North Atlantic military alliance have failed to shatter the position earlier assumed by the NATO member-states.

Documents pertaining to the "Partnership for Peace" programme signed by the heads of state and government of the NATO member-states in Brussels on January 10 confirm provisions of the 1949 Washington Treaty to the effect that NATO remains open for other European states to join it. Participants in the session of the North Atlantic alliance reiterated that the expansion of the NATO to the east will be carried out on the basis of an evolutionary process and that countries claiming NATO membership must first prove their capacity to "contribute to ensuring security of the North Atlantic region."

The documents neither set any term for admitting new members into the alliance, nor name probable candidates.

On the eve of the Brussels summit the U.S. president's aide for National Security Anthony Lake declared that hasty admission of new member-states into the alliance might lead to the destabilisation of the situation in the European region, which meets neither NATO's interests nor the interests of the states of Central and Eastern Europe.

The U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher expressed the opinion that none of the NATO member-states considers new applicants to be prepared for membership in the alliance.

It seems that both the United States and other NATO member-states are interested in maintaining existing tendencies in countries, which formerly belonged to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, as well as Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic states, and seek to fortify the current situation by military and political measures. However, participants in the Brussels summit realise that the immediate admission of new members into the alliance will cause a negative response in Russia, since in the long run, military alliances are usually targeted against some state or a bloc of states.

The immediate admission of former Warsaw Treaty member-states, with Russia being left out, might be seen as a discriminatory and unfriendly step against the Russian Federation. Such developments are not likely to strengthen stability in Europe or democratic processes in Russia.

"Partnership for Peace" adopted at the NATO session in Brussels is, perhaps, the best option of resolving uneasy problems of the European security. This programme envisages a number of measures of a military and political character for ensuring security of the programme participants and maintaining stability in the European region. These measures include joint military operations with NATO member-states, joint planning and joint military exercises, and envisage consultations with NATO by any member-state of the "partnership" if it decides that it is being threatened.

Commentary Reviews Outcome of Summit

*LD1201152394 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Announcer-read commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Excerpts] In this commentary, Yuriy Solton examines the results of the NATO Council session at summit level, which concluded its work in Brussels this Tuesday [11 January].

The NATO countries' leaders have outlined the landmarks of the new strategy. Of course, not all their plans can be adopted, but the intention to continue the East-West dialogue and to develop further cooperation with the East European countries to strengthen European security, should be appraised as a positive initiative. It can be noted with satisfaction that the Brussels declaration supports economic and political reforms in Russia. The declaration emphasizes that the Russian leaders' firm intention to follow the course of democratic reforms, is extremely important in maintaining stability and security in Europe. [passage omitted]

The NATO leaders' apprehension about the appearance in Europe of hotbeds of instability and armed conflicts is understandable. The most classic example is former Yugoslavia, especially the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that has now been raging for the past two years.

The heads of state and government of NATO are right in concluding that the war in Yugoslavia can only be resolved through peaceful means. Their readiness to assist the peace process in Yugoslavia can only be welcomed. But it seems to me that it is hardly advisable nor perhaps appropriate to issue military threats.

In Brussels, it was announced that NATO was ready to use air strikes in Bosnia, even though it's true that this would only be done with the corresponding decision and control by the Security Council of the United Nations.

Here, I share the opinion of the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, who said that the NATO threats were unproductive and that they would only complicate the situation at a time when hope for signing a peace agreement on the Bosnian issue still existed.

Other decisions concerning the rejuvenation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were taken in Brussels. As a whole, the impression is created that the NATO leaders are waking up to the conviction that it is necessary to establish such a system of common European security that will prevent a return to a Europe of political blocs.

NATO Council Exposes 'Internal Discord' on Yugoslavia

PM1301105994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 3

[Sergey Sidorov report: "Where 'Humanitarian' Bombings Will Lead"]

[Text] NATO countries' heads of state and government would be better off leaving the topic of the war in the former Yugoslavia, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular, well alone. Once again the North Atlantic alliance has demonstrated its powerlessness and internal discord over this problem. This is how a Berlin newspaper evaluated the results of the NATO Council emergency session.

On the other hand, a number of French and British mass media sources believe the time is ripe for more resolute action by the bloc. The "France-3" television company and THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, for instance, reported with reference to Western officials that air strikes against targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina will in fact be carried out over the next few days. Mention is made in particular of the allegedly blockaded humanitarian route into Srebrenica and the Serb positions around Sarajevo.

So what has actually happened? Has the North Atlantic bloc really made direct moves toward open military intervention in Bosnia? Naturally, there is no direct reference to air strikes or the decision taken in the concluding document of the NATO Council session. The NATO partners merely confirmed their "readiness to participate in launching air strikes in the event of continued gunfire by Sarajevo and attacks on servicemen from UN forces." At the same time, important changes have occurred in the approaches to the decision on the use of air power. Whereas previously the main ringleader militating for the use of air power was the United States, while France and Britain expressed opposition, believing that were this to happen their "blue helmets" would become targets for partisans, now both Paris and London favor strikes from the air. As for the United States, Washington seems to have swapped roles with its allies. Commenting on the outcome of the session, President Clinton noted cautiously that "NATO could be embarking on a very risky path."

Most experts are inclined to assess the declaration on the readiness to carry out bombings as pressure tactics on the Bosnian sides prior to the new round of talks to be held in a week's time. That is, it is basically a matter of a peculiar military-diplomatic game. However, there is in this game a highly important factor which often remains outside observers' field of vision.

Military figures like General Jean Cot, commander of the French "blue helmets" contingent, often get carried away with purely military logic. Let us recall the general's highly debatable conviction that "only force will stop the war in the Balkans." Civilian officials from the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in their turn suggest that direct military action will signify an end to humanitarian operations and hopes of a peaceful settlement. The conflict between General J. Cot and Cedric Thornberry, leader of the civilian mission, escalated a short while ago and led to the latter's recent resignation. It is J. Cot who has repeatedly submitted the issue of deploying air power for discussion at UNPROFOR

headquarters, striving to attain the right to take a decision on this autonomously. The chaos which would arise if this right were used even once is obvious even to the uninitiated. UNPROFOR would then appear to the warring parties not as neutral but as a warring side, an ally for some and an enemy for others. The line between bombing raids "for the purpose of facilitating humanitarian operations" and air strikes aimed at weakening the potential of one or other side is too fine.

Kiev's Debt Unlikely To Be Written Off for Disarmament

LD1201154894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433
GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Talk about Kiev's debts to Russia for fuel supplies, which, according to experts, surpass one trillion rubles, being covered as compensation for the nuclear arms to be withdrawn from Ukraine is out of the question, a high-ranking member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told Interfax.

As he said, Ukraine's pledge to remove nuclear weapons from its soil and Russia's willingness to pay "an appropriate" compensation will be stipulated at Friday's meeting between the presidents of Russia, Ukraine and the U.S.A. in Moscow. "The size of such a compensation is yet to be fixed. Groups of experts will deal with this," he noted.

When determining the size of compensation the experts will take into account fuel supplies for Ukrainian nuclear-power plants from Russia. "Participants in the trilateral Russian-Ukrainian-American consultations conducted in Washington worked out a plan, under which the nuclear arms withdrawn from Ukraine to Russia would be dismantled and their highly concentrated uranium be deconcentrated to serve as fuel for nuclear-power plants. This fuel will be partly left in Russia for its own needs, partly supplied to Ukraine, and partly sold to the Americans," he said.

According to the diplomat, the question of writing off some of Ukraine's debts to Russia may arise only if the cost of the fuel for nuclear-power plants Ukraine will get from Russia proves to be lower than the value of the enriched uranium from the nuclear arms to be withdrawn from Ukraine to Russia. "The possible 'difference' is not likely to be great, since the price of the fuel will include the cost of transporting the nuclear arms, storing, dismantling and deconcentrating them. These complicated operations cost a lot of money," he concluded.

Gasprom Opposes Compensating Ukraine for Nuclear Weapons

LD1201155794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433
GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Russia's Gasprom, the leading gas producer in the CIS, "will never, nor will the Russian Government agree

to compensate the cost of nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine by writing off the Ukrainian debt for fuel, especially gas imports from Russia," a senior company official told Interfax. He was commenting on the prospects of such a deal being struck during the a forthcoming summit in Moscow between the Presidents of Russia, the U.S. and Ukraine.

In his words, though the company has vested interests in Ukraine, these have nothing to do with the dismantling of nuclear weapons. More importantly, said the official, Gasprom is not a state but stock company and that is why all crucial issues linked to its financial standing are subject to discussion by its shareholders.

Kiev's debt for gas imports from Russia runs at more than Rbs 1 Tn, about a third of its total debt to Moscow. But it owes only Rbs 30 Bn for oil imports.

However, one other company official in an interview with Interfax did not rule out the possibility of a gas-for-weapons swap following "a decision on the highest level." In this case, he said, the government will have to compensate Gasprom for financial losses which is very problematic given that it has no such money. The official says a mere write-off of Kiev's debt without compensation to Gasprom will cause anger in Russia's gas producing regions and result in "several Nadym's".

The country's large gas producing region of Nadym was almost brought to a standstill at the end of last year after local workers went on strike because of not being paid wages for several months due to defaults by Gasprom customers.

Kozyrev To Visit China 'At the End of January'

LD1201194794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1822
GMT 12 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is scheduled to visit China at the end of January, according to Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Panov.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Wednesday Panov underlined that, after the Russian president's historic "break-through" visit to Beijing, Russia is now engaging in a wide, dynamic range of cooperation with China both on the international scene and in their bilateral relations. Panov said China is a high priority in Russia's foreign policy.

The deputy minister reported that Kozyrev's visit will include preparations for a return visit to Moscow by the Chinese chairman.

Panov thinks that the fact that Russia's new year is beginning with visits by the American President to Moscow and then the Russian foreign minister to Beijing is symbolic. Although these delegations are in different

"weight categories", the two visits will maintain equilibrium in Russia's foreign policy, which is directed to the east as much as it is to the west.

'Western Military Source' on DPRK Submarine Deal

SK1301003094 Seoul YONHAP in English 0012 GMT 13 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 12 (YONHAP)—A foreign press report Wednesday [12 January] that Russia has signed a contract to sell four fox-trot class submarines to North Korea is "nearly accurate," a Western military source said.

The TOKYO SHIMBUN reported that North Korea had signed a contract with the Russian Far East-Pacific fleet headquarters to buy four fox-trot submarines in the Vladivostok naval yard.

The source said that a North Korean naval delegation visited the naval headquarters in Vladivostok last September. Another North Korean high-level naval delegation secretly visited Moscow in November, apparently in connection with the submarine purchase.

The source said he believes that the Russian Far East-Pacific fleet has recommended sale of the submarines to naval headquarters in Moscow.

The fox-trot class submarine is generally classified as an attack vessel and therefore, if Russia proceeds with the sale, Moscow will be reneging on its promise to South Korea that it would not offer any offensive weapons to North Korea, the source said.

President Boris Yeltsin, during his visit to South Korea in December 1992, had affirmed that Russia would never supply offensive weapons to North Korea.

North Korea was understood to have explained to Russia that it planned to buy the submarines and disassemble them to use scrap iron. But since the submarines are still in usable shape, the North Korean explanation is unconvincing, the source said.

The price of the submarines and other conditions of the sales contract are being kept secret, he said.

Progress on Joint Latvian Talks Positively Assessed

LD1201214794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1805 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 12 TASS—The Russian delegation is satisfied with the constructive tone of the talks going on in Latvia on the withdrawal of Russian troops from that republic, according to delegation head Sergey Zotov.

The latest round of talks began on Tuesday [11 January] in Riga, one day later than originally planned. The delay

was due to a provocation undertaken against representatives of the Russian Army and embassy in Latvia. The Russian delegation agreed to sit down to talk again after the Latvian leadership apologized and took the appropriate steps against the provocateurs.

Zotov called the event "an attempt not only to break up the negotiations, but a sort of rehearsal for the seizure of Russian military sites". Because of this, the Russian delegation is insisting on military status for the radar station in Skrunda, not the civil status that the Latvian side proposes. The Russians want to keep the station for another five years, while the Latvians think three years are enough.

Zotov did not name the concrete sum of money which Latvia expects in return for allowing the Russians to continue using the radar. He said the Latvian-proposed amount was considered by the Russians as a joke.

Overall, Zotov mentioned, "our positions are getting closer on key points. We are counting on drafting an agreement on the radar by the end of the next session, as long as the political will is there". The last day of the talks has not yet been determined.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Briefs on Various Issues

Comments on U.S.-Russian Documents

LD1201153794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] A briefing on the current foreign policy issues and, in particular, on the program of U.S. President Clinton's visit to Moscow, was held for Russian and foreign journalists at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Press Center today.

Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department had this to say on this issue:

[Begin Karasin recording] The U.S. President, accompanied by his spouse, will arrive in Moscow late this evening.

On 13 January, and following the official ceremony of the Russian Federation president welcoming the U.S. President, Russian-U.S. talks will take place with only a few officials present and subsequently more officials will join in.

In the second half of the day it is planned that the U.S. President will meet Aleksiy, patriarch of Moscow and all the Russias, in St. Daniil's Monastery. In the evening there will be a cocktail party for Russian public and business circles. This will be followed by an unofficial and private dinner given by Boris Yeltsin.

On 14 January, the second working day of the visit, following the wreath-laying ceremony at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb, the Russian-U.S. talks will continue

with delegation members present. A trilateral meeting is planned between the Russian, U.S., and Ukrainian leaders. Documents are to be signed, too.

Then joint Russian-U.S. documents will be signed. The Russian and U.S. Presidents will hold a joint news conference. In the second half of the day the U.S. President will appear at the Ostankino TV concert studio, and the Russian Federation President and Mrs. Yeltsin will then give an official dinner in honor of the U.S. president and his spouse.

On 15 January, following a meeting between the U.S. President and U.S. embassy staff in Moscow, an official ceremony of farewell will take place in St. George's hall of the Great Kremlin Palace.

It is expected that the following bilateral documents will be signed in the course of the visit: The presidents of both countries will sign the Moscow Declaration—the main political document concerning the results of the summit meeting. It is expected that joint statements on human rights and on the problems of nonproliferation will be adopted on behalf of both presidents.

The Russian foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state will sign an air traffic agreement between Russia and the United States, and an agreement on cooperation in the area of health protection and bio-medical research.

A joint statement on export controls, a joint statement on the Near East, and a joint statement on the issues of eliminating chemical weapons are being adopted on behalf of the Russian foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state.

Interdepartmental accords will be signed within the framework of the summit. Among them are: An agreement on cooperation in the area of studying the effects of radiation on people's health and the environment, a package of documents dealing with the implementation of the second stage of the Minsk 1989 memorandum, and an executive contract on sale of low grade uranium.

So, this is the main, the chief preliminary outline as it is now, on the first day of the U.S. President's official visit to our capital. [end recording]

Comments on Latvian Situation

LD1201144894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1355 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan—It is of fundamental importance that all the specific perpetrators of the unlawful, provocative, and unfriendly acts committed on 10 January by

armed Latvian militia against the Russian ambassador and two Russian generals in Riga receive due punishment, Grigoriy Karasin, the director of the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry Information and Press Department, said today at a briefing at the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry Press Center

He stressed that it was also essential for the Latvian authorities to take every measure necessary to prevent such highly dangerous incidents occurring in future.

Grigoriy Karasin said that Moscow was awaiting a detailed official response by the Latvian side to Russia's actions.

Welcomes Israeli-PLO Talks

LD1201200694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1649 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Russia welcomes the renewal of negotiations in Egypt between delegations from Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Russia is hoping for the successful outcome of the talks, which concern an agreement on the Gaza Strip and Jericho, according to Grigoriy Karasin, the director of the information and press department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, speaking in the ministry's press centre.

Karasin expressed his regret about several interruptions in the Israeli-PLO talks on specific measures to implement their declaration on principles, signed in September of 1993.

"In our contacts with both Israeli and Palestinian representatives we always point out to them the necessity of concentrating maximum constructive effort and good will on overcoming differences and following the spirit and the letter of the September agreements", the Russian representative stated.

Views NATO Cooperation

LD1201175894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1720 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"The Partnership for Peace" plan approved by NATO leaders at the recent meeting in Brussels will be "attentively studied" in Russia with the focus laid on boosting relations with NATO, Russian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Grigory Karasin told a briefing on Wednesday.

He added that the plan is an alternative to the expansion of NATO which East European nations want to join. "An approach has been selected which is oriented towards the development of partnership relations and practical cooperation with all European CSCE member-states, including in the East of the continent, and which provides equal possibilities for all potential partners," Karasin said.

Russia plans to hold a detailed exchange of opinions with all European states on the results of the NATO meeting in Brussels in order "to determine the optimal ways of maintaining a truly pan-European cooperation

in the field of stability and security," according to the spokesman who added that prospects of such cooperation will be discussed during the Russian-U.S. summit.

Karasin however explained that "the Russian-U.S. dialogue on the issue has nothing in common with any separate agreements between the two powers." This is only a search for such instruments of strengthening the European stability which would reliably guarantee the interests of all European states without exclusions, regardless of their size, geographic situation, economic or ~~military~~ potential."

Political Issues

Democratic Russia Warns Yeltsin on Withdrawing Support

MK1301105094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 2

[Unattributed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Moscow"]

[Text] Democratic Russia said in an open letter to Boris Yeltsin that according to reports it received from government sources, Aleksandr Zaveryukha would be among deputy prime ministers who are to stay in office. The movement warned the president that since the government was being cut primarily at the expense of the reform-minded wing, "a real threat looms over reform yet another time." "In the emerging situation we have to warn you that Democratic Russia, true to its principled views, will have to reconsider the question of its support for the course pursued by the president and the government," said the letter signed by the movement's cochairmen, Lev Ponomarev and Gleb Yakunin.

Yeltsin Aide Rules Out Interior Ministry Reshuffle

LD1201120494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1113 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—A whole range of forecasts about an allegedly inevitable reform in the Interior Ministry system have appeared in mass media in the last few days. Hypothetical assumptions are also being made about personnel changes, says a statement released today from Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary.

However, absolutely no such conclusions can be drawn from the decree "On the structure of federal executive bodies" signed by the Russian president a few days ago. The government structure outlined in the decree retains the Interior Ministry, only specifying its constitutional accountability to the Russian president.

It is only natural that the logic of reforms leads to changes both in the government and in the operation of individual ministries. However, as far as the Interior Ministry system is concerned, I have been authorized to state that the president and the government have no short-term plans either to reform Interior Ministry bodies or to make any personnel decisions, says the statement from the Russian president's press secretary.

Writer Anticipates Fallout of Yeltsin's Government Edict

MK1201105094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 2

[Aleksandr Bekker article under the "Power" rubric: "Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin Reform the Government. Fate of Council of Ministers' Bigwigs Will Be Decided Any Day Now"]

[Text] Having moved into a new building, the Russian Government also received a new inner structure on 10 January: Boris Yeltsin signed an edict "On the Structure of Federal Organs of Executive Power." Under it, the number of ministers has been cut to 23, and there will remain 44 state committees and committees that are now given an equal status. The reorganization boils down to scrapping a range of organs of federal power, transforming (complete with name change) individual ministries and agencies, and having the "outgoing" turn over their functions to those remaining.

One may note an enhanced status, to that of a ministry, of the State Committee on Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member States and of the State Committee on Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Recovery from Natural Disasters. Notably, the Agriculture Ministry now incorporates the Committee on the Food and Food Processing Industry, while the Committee on Price Policy run by Lilya Rozenova, which represented a "fifth column" inside the Economy Ministry, now becomes completely subsumed in the ministry. Federal organs will now delegate some functions to the provinces. An important development is that the president takes over the control of three ministries (Defense, Internal Affairs, and Foreign Affairs) and of seven federal services.

The edict directs Victor Chernomyrdin to propose within one week his candidates for two first and two "plain" deputies. Whereas there has been no doubt in the press as to the future status of Oleg Soskovets and Yegor Gaydar, there are varied guesses as to who will be vice premiers. Invariably present in all the combinations was Aleksandr Zaveryukha, who is personally close to the premier and hails from the same part of the country.

Who will be the second? Under the president's edict the functions of the agency for international cooperation and development created by Aleksandr Shokhin have been transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and this seems to signal Shokhin's imminent discharge. Yuriy Yarov, who is supposedly leaving to take an elevated position in the State Duma, stands virtually no chance. Very significantly, the State Committee for the Management of State Property in the new structure does not amount to a ministry with Anatoliy Chubays still remaining a "vice," having not received even the consolation status of minister. As for Boris Fedorov, he is very unlikely to agree to become finance minister in a government whose vice premier will be Mr. Zaveryukha: too divergent views on the economic policy could not make their relations warm. But while Boris Fedorov is going to react adequately to the lowering of his status, Anatoliy Chubays will surely not slam the door. First, he has taken a strong liking to what he is doing (and there is plenty to do); second, while Gaydar remains in the government, Chubays will see possibilities for a gamble against his opponents.

Who will be vice premiers? This is of no idle interest in the present Russian situation. This is a fundamental

question of the direction of reforms. If he errs, Viktor Chernomyrdin would not only emasculate the reforms, but would also weaken the government's intellectual potential in the face of the parliamentary opposition.

Analyst Calls For Complete Change of Cabinet

MK1201145094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 2, 9-16 Jan 94 (signed to press 11 Jan) p A8

[Article by political scientist Andranik Migranyan in the "Opinion" column: "To Change the Team Means To Salvage the Ship"]

[Text] The constitution does not accord the State Duma the right to dictate the government composition to the president. But it enables it to raise the question of confidence in the government. It is fairly likely that the Duma in the very first weeks of its work will get bogged down in debates precisely on this issue.

The election results and the composition of the State Duma call for preemptive actions on the part of the president and the prime minister. They must not wait until the Duma raises the question point blank about changing the government composition. It is better to do this by themselves. In that event many upheavals would be avoided.

In my opinion, it would be most reasonable to renew the government completely, keeping Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin in his post. There are serious grounds for that. The most important among them is that over two years the first stage of reform has been passed and now adjustment of the course is required.

Whereas in internal politics adjustment should consist in working out a coherent industrial and social program, what is needed in foreign policy is a clear-cut definition of national and state interests and priorities. Up to now the possibilities of international support by Russian speakers in the neighboring countries have been left absolutely untapped. The United States and Western countries, about which Foreign Minister Kozyrev speaks as of Russia's allies, have not been in any way helping to address problems related to human rights in the former Union republics. Meanwhile these problems have substantially aggravated the internal political situation in Russia, which has been brilliantly used by Zhirinovskiy in his preelection campaign.

There is also a psychological dimension, which must not be ignored. The conduct of serious economic transformations always leads to a situation where their social side effects are associated with certain figures. Society has basically gotten tired of the same persons. Their replacement in itself will calm the people and prolong the "benefit of the doubt" even if the economic course remains unchanged.

To be sure, to pursue a consistent reformist line a team of like-minded people is needed. The current government is no longer a monolith: It has broken up into several blocs that have vied for seats in parliament. The latter circumstance is always seen in public consciousness as an irritating factor. Today the government especially needs professionals who would be ready to work on a nonpartisan basis. And there is no need for politicians who are thinking about their own political future in the post-Yeltsin Russia, concerned about creating a social and organizational basis for their own participation in the next presidential elections.

The need to revise substantially relations between the president and the government is also there. For the president to realize the powers granted him by the new constitution, a strategy of reforms must be formed in the presidential structures. And the government is called upon to implement this strategy. Otherwise Yeltsin will find himself in Gorbachev's situation in 1990-1991 when the USSR president was left with only one option—to react to the sociopolitical process that had acquired its own logic of development.

What is in fact required from the government today? First, to prevent hyperinflation. Second, to conduct a more rational industrial policy. These tasks will confront any cabinet of ministers. But the authorities should be interested in seeing it formed from among the "second echelon" of reformer economists. Viktor Chernomyrdin is quite capable of becoming the conductor of such a course. While formally embodying the industrial lobby in the government, over the year of his premiership he has shown that he understands the laws of macroeconomic regulation and sees the possible negative implications of the "Ukrainization" of the economy. The presence of the constructive "reformist lobby" in the Duma from among the leaders of Russia's Choice, on the other hand, will restrain the new cabinet of ministers from an unduly inflation-oriented policy. But the main guarantor of the continuity of the reform course must be President Yeltsin, ready at any moment to intervene in the government's actions.

A renewed cabinet of ministers would undoubtedly receive support from the Federal Assembly for the next year or year and a half. It is not ruled out that a fairly broad left-of-center coalition could be formed in the Duma, oriented toward constructive cooperation with a government that has not tainted itself with "shock therapy."

Of course, the president has weighty reasons to doubt the expediency of a complete overhaul of the government. Such people as Gaydar, Fedorov, and Chubays epitomize the reforms. Their electorate is also the most active and consistent electorate of Yeltsin. But proceeding from Russia's long-term interests, the president should distance himself somewhat from the leaders of this orientation. In no case ignore them, but try to use these people in other power structures. Their deputyship gives them such an opportunity. Remaining rigidly linked to one of

the groups in the current political spectrum, the president should be prepared to see that this will sharply narrow the social base of transformations, polarize society, and cause damage to the strategic aims of the reform.

Yeltsin may—and not without reason—fear that he will be charged with “treachery” for “changing the team.” It is another matter if the initiative for the renewal of the government comes from Chernomyrdin; for this he will naturally have to present a program for the continuation of the reforms and a concept for a new government. But it would be best if the idea of creating a nonpartisan “cabinet of professionals” were initiated by leaders of Russia’s Choice and other partisan factions in the government. This guarantees a conflict-free renewal of the cabinet of ministers and its calm work in the near future.

It appears, however, that there will be no complete renewal of the government. What follows from this? Most likely the State Duma, where Russia’s Choice has no majority, will raise the question of confidence in the government. This would mean a new spiral of confrontation between the representative and executive branches. Of course, the Duma has no serious possibilities of changing the government, and generally its powers are limited. But this conflict, not so important in itself, will have far-reaching implications. The entire responsibility for economic failures will be laid exclusively on the government and the president. In the context of the crisis and the quite probable “popular unrest,” even a weak Duma, having embarked down the path of confrontation, is capable of extremely aggravating the political situation.

And amid social and political instability nobody has better chances for success than politicians like Zhirnovskiy.

Chernomyrdin To Announce New Government 17 Jan

LD1301091294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0838 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin is going to announce next Monday the make-up of the government due to be reformed in accordance with the presidential decree of 10 January. This is what he said in an ITAR-TASS interview after the ceremony of an official meeting of Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton.

“All versions have already been discussed,” Chernomyrdin said. He made it clear, however, that a final decision on the candidatures would be taken after the steering bodies of the Federal Assembly are formed. “I am very much worried about the formation of the steering bodies of the State Duma,” he added.

Responding to the ITAR-TASS supposition that Oleg Soskovets and Yegor Gaydar will be appointed first

deputy prime ministers, and Yuriy Yarov and Aleksandr Zaveryukha—deputy prime ministers, Chernomyrdin said: “You are almost right.”

The prime minister commented angrily on the open letter, sent by leaders of the Democratic Russia Movement Gleb Yakunin and Lev Ponomarev to President Yeltsin on Wednesday. They opposed the appointment of Aleksandr Zaveryukha to the post of deputy prime minister. “It is not these people who will determine the government make-up,” he said.

According to Chernomyrdin, professionalism and personal business qualities were the main criteria for choosing candidates to the top posts in the government. “The most important thing is that people working in the government should share our ideas and realise the depth of the processes taking place in the country... The government is formed not for the purpose of meeting the requirements of certain individuals, but for fulfilling specific tasks,” Chernomyrdin said.

Gaydar Resignation Hint Viewed

PM1201155594 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by Sergey Razin: “Will Gaydar Resign?”]

[Text] The president has again issued an edict to reorganize the government. A large number of officials of various kinds have been laid off right up to the level of vice premiers—their number has declined from nine to four. And only two of them will be first deputy heads of the cabinet. Only 20 ministries, 24 state committees, and 20 departments are left.

At first glance these figures confirm the official story of the latest government reshuffle: The inflated apparatus must be dealt with. But behind this reduction one can discern a tactical gain for the agrarian and industrial lobbyists and their leaders at the helm of power.

Premier Chernomyrdin has been given a week to personally appoint his deputies and ministers. Already observers are united in the opinion that it will be suggested that O. Soskovets and Ye. Gaydar become the first vice premiers and A. Zaveryukha and Yu. Yarov mere vice premiers. Of course this layout could be different. If only because at a recent press conference Gaydar dropped a transparent hint that he might not join the government. It is true that he did not say everything about his doubts. But the absence of his comrades in arms A. Chubays and B. Fedorov on the list of vice premiers needs no special comment. If the reformers’ key figures are deprived of their powers then Gaydar will yet again be in the unenviable role of “whipping boy.”

With this selection of vice premiers inflation will go sky-high by the spring and the future of privatization will look vague to say the least. With this disposition of

forces Gaydar and "Russia's Choice" will most likely join the hidden [glukhaya] opposition.

Yeltsin Retains Chubays as Deputy Prime Minister

LD1301123694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1136 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 13 tass—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has decreed that Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the Russian State Property Managing Committee, will hold his post of a deputy prime minister in the new cabinet, the press service of the Russian president reported on Thursday.

Chubays was appointed deputy chairman of the government above the number of four vice-premiers named in Yeltsin's decree of January 10, the press service said.

IZVESTIYA Commentator on 'Clown' Zhirinovskiy

BR1201161394 Antwerp GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN in Dutch 11 Jan 94 p 2

[Report on interview with IZVESTIYA commentator Otto Latsis by Moscow correspondent Hans Geleijnse in Moscow; date not given: "West Must Not Exaggerate Danger Posed by Zhirinovskiy—Political Clown Will Make A Poor Show"]

[Text] Moscow—Ever since the Russian elections last December, the alarm bells have been ringing around the world, especially in the West. The reason is the march into parliament of media clown and agitator Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of a group that bears the misleading name of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR].

Otto Latsis, the cautious, and probably for that reason alone already highly influential, 60-year-old commentator of the Russian newspaper IZVESTIYA is extremely concerned about Zhirinovskiy's surprising election victory. However, it is not the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon itself that frightens him, but the reactions to it, which he considers exaggerated.

NATO, which has experienced a serious identity crisis since the disappearance of its enemy, the Soviet Union, is being given an unexpected stimulus to survive by Russia. New members, the countries of Central Europe and the Balkan states, want a place under the alliance's umbrella.

In the United States, Germany, and the Netherlands, the so-called Zhirinovskiy factor is providing ready ammunition for bringing the defense cuts under fire. In short, the reincarnation of the Red Peril of communism as a poisonous black, fascist threat is being taken extremely seriously.

Latsis has always been a party journalist. However, as a qualified economist, he opted for reforms right from the start and also became a strong opponent of Stalinism. He left the party in 1990. "The danger in overestimating Zhirinovskiy lies in setting off a chain reaction. I dread to think that NATO might welcome neighboring countries like Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic republics into the club. The militants here would then immediately cry: 'You see, the West is still our rival.' That would not only prove fatal to reaching further arms reduction agreements, but would also kill off Yeltsin's reform policy."

That nearly 24 percent of the vote went to the man who intends to drop atomic bombs on Germany if necessary, propagates the idea of a Greater Russia, and commands considerable support within the Army, may well give cause for something more than raised eyebrows in the West. According to Latsis, "I would be the last person to say that there is no reason to remain alert; the question is how to do so. And above all, based on what assessment?"

Wrong Track

According to Latsis, anyone comparing the present situation in Russia with the situation in Germany during the 1930's, who regards Zhirinovskiy as a new Hitler, is entirely on the wrong track. Zhirinovskiy has managed to get this far not only because his democratic opponents not only underestimated him, but also because of the population's dissatisfaction with the economic chaos and impoverishment, and its dented national pride in a country that was once so powerful but is now in decline.

According to Latsis, the votes for Zhirinovskiy are absolutely no proof whatsoever that fascism and extreme nationalism are rampant in Russia. "Under such circumstances, I would even go so far as to say that the Russian population is less nationalistic than the U.S. population. However, there is more. According to my estimates, a maximum of 8 percent of the electorate could be considered hard core militant Zhirinovskiy supporters. The rest voted for the LDPR as a protest."

Zhirinovskiy gained his victory entirely from the national party list for the National Duma, the new parliament. His victory was a direct consequence of his personal charisma: He has humor on his side, and is someone who "dares to speak the truth to the motley crew in the Kremlin."

However, in the regional lists, which determined over half of the seats in the Duma, Zhirinovskiy and his LDPR did not make a breakthrough there. "The regional candidates were familiar to the people and were judged far more on the content of their platform. That [fact] alone proves that the electorate did not vote 'for fascism,'" says Latsis.

"The protest was also reflected in the 48 percent [of the population] who did not go to the polls. I believe that half of these people are totally indifferent, while the

other half would vote for democratic candidates under better circumstances. Why? If they had wanted to make their protest known, they would have gone to the polls to support Zhirinovskiy. That did not happen," Latsis continued.

He sees both the leader of the LDPR and the forces supporting him (Latsis claims that both Zhirinovskiy and his party are an invention of reactionaries from the former KGB and the Army—GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN correspondent's note) losing ground when things actually have to be done in the parliament. Latsis predicts that in 1996 Zhirinovskiy will play a major role in the presidential elections, but that he certainly will not win. "You cannot play the clown for two years. He will now have to make grotesque promises. We must also wait and see which kind of people his party attracts, and how much support he will receive in daily political practice," he says.

Remedy

According to Latsis, the only remedy against Zhirinovskiy is to throw overboard any idea of shock therapy. Reforms are necessary, but they must be well-considered and cautious. A second correction must entail the recognition of the dissatisfaction with the fate of the 25 million Russians who have been living outside Russia for generations.

According to Latsis: "The democrats have simply given this issue to Zhirinovskiy. I am glad that in his New Year's address, Yeltsin announced that he would respond sharply to discrimination—or even worse—against Russians living outside Russia. A man like Foreign Minister Kozyrev should have done that much earlier, exerting diplomatic pressure on countries that are attempting to force their ethnic Russian citizens into a second-class position, like the Baltics. That policy should also have been presented better to the people. In that way, Zhirinovskiy would have been deprived of an important weapon."

The situation will only become dangerous if the democrats continue to refuse to draw the right conclusions from the election result. The West must merely now show its willingness to help Russia in its reconstruction, and realize that the economy of this gigantic country cannot make a 180-degree turnaround from one day to the next, Latsis argued.

As for NATO, Latsis advised Yeltsin to first allow some time for guiding Russia inside a joint alliance. Subsequently, the membership of neighboring countries will no longer pose a problem. The opposite is impossible, Latsis warned, because in that case the democrats—and not only they—can probably forget all about it.

Zhirinovskiy Profiled, Compared With Mussolini LD1201233494

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1555 GMT on 12 January carries a

30-minute documentary program "Portrait Against a Swastika" reviewing the rise to prominence of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, LDPR, its leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, and two other right-wing groups, Pamyat and Russian National Unity.

The program begins with a claim that it would avoid a direct comparison of Zhirinovskiy with Adolf Hitler, although film of Zhirinovskiy reviewing young uniformed volunteers was spliced in with footage of Hitler reviewing the Hitler Youth. An unidentified moderator notes that: "We are a long way from comparing him with Hitler, although, come to think of it, Hitler also started with a small party of dissatisfaction."

However, at this point, the moderator notes there is a comparison between Zhirinovskiy and Mussolini, stating that: "If we are to speak of an external resemblance, we do not recall the Fuehrer of the Third Reich, but his great Italian friend, Benito Mussolini."

At this point there are several minutes of spliced film clips of Zhirinovskiy and Mussolini speaking. Clips from Zhirinovskiy's election campaign are shown, with commentary repeatedly suggesting that his election promises are not realizable. At one point the moderator states that "He promises everybody everything...but only one thing is missing from each promise: an explanation of how exactly he plans to do it all."

Alongside clips of LDPR election campaign material, Zhirinovskiy is repeatedly shown in an excited and incoherent state, including two scenes apparently shot in a nightclub. In one clip Zhirinovskiy states: "Yes, yes, it's a wolf's life." "Generally my favorite activity is howling like a wolf. People have different hobbies, like playing the recorder, but my activity is howling like a wolf." He then states: "I can try to howl like a wolf if you like, I'd be happy to."

The final sequence of the program shows a campaign clip of Zhirinovskiy commenting on the overseas involvement of Soviet forces. He says: "Wherever our soldiers may have been, in the Soviet-Finnish war, or the troops in Afghanistan, or in any other area, in Africa or Cuba, they did everything correctly. All the soldiers and officers who fought, everything they did was legal and correct." His final comment is: "If all that was legal and correct, what awaits us tomorrow?"

Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes Previewed

MK1201114094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI
in Russian No. 2, 9-12 Jan 94 (signed to press 11 Jan)
p A6

[Olga Bychkova report: "Court Leaves for Chamber"]

[Text] The fourth estate in Russia receives a new counterbalance—the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes, created by the president's edict.

The Chamber, in fact, appears in the place of the Arbitration Information Court, which oversaw information guarantees of participants in the election campaign. The composition of the new body remains almost the same, with Anatoliy Vengerov, law professor, as its chairman. But members of the Chamber will work in it on a permanent basis and with no right to combine it with work for the media.

The formulated main objective of the new structure is to assist the president in exercising his constitutional powers as a guarantor of the rights and liberties of citizens, and primarily the right to freedom of speech. The Chamber has gained great powers in resolving disputes that involve distribution of air time on television and radio among the Federal Assembly factions. A totally new type of activity is "the protection of moral interests of children and adolescents in the mass media."

In practical terms, the Judicial Chamber will be able to give official warnings to publications for breaching the principles of "authenticity and objectivity" of information, and even to go to court to withdraw licenses. In the case of officials' violating the press law the Chamber can only reprimand them. This "inequality of rights," Anatoliy Vengerov thinks, is explained by the fact that a reprimand for an official is a terrible punishment threatening the ruin of a career, whereas in the case of a newspaper the last word belongs to the ordinary court. It is underscored separately that the Chamber's sphere is a public, rather than a legal, assessment of information. Still, as far as warnings go, the Judicial Chamber gains the functions of a press ministry.

The question of "authenticity and objectivity" so far appears one of the most debatable. Vengerov cites as an example the recent incident where Boris Yeltsin was ascribed the authorship of a personal letter to Anatoliy Lukyanov regarding the latter's deputy status, whereas the letter addressed all deputies in general. "Had the press secretary failed to deny the claim right away, we would have had to do it. And we would also have had to find out who and why presented the fact in a distorted way," the head of the Judicial Chamber explained. But he noted there his deep conviction that similar cases often involve elementary professional negligence rather than ill design. Making such instances public, Vengerov thinks, is the most powerful sanction of moral impact first and foremost.

How precisely the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes will function is yet to be determined by special regulations. Members of the Chamber have been instructed to elaborate them by mid-January. Only then will it become clear what these innovations mean for the freedom of speech.

Decree Issued on Helping Print Media Over Problems

PM1201170594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Russian Federation Government Decree No. 15, signed by Chernomyrdin and dated 10 January 1994: "Questions of Ensuring Publication and Dissemination of the Mass Media and Printed Matter"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Government decrees that:

1. Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government Decree No. 1233 "On the Revaluation of the Fixed Capital (Funds) of Enterprises and Organizations" of 25 November 1993 regarding the revaluation of the fixed capital of printing enterprises, including those forming part of publishing and printing complexes, shall be suspended for three months.

The Russian Federation Finance Ministry and the Russian Federation Economics Ministry in conjunction with the Russian Federation Committee for the Press shall elaborate within this period a mechanism for providing compensation to the print mass media for the additional expenditure incurred in implementing this decree.

2. The Russian Federation Committee for the Press in conjunction with interested ministries, departments, and organizations shall draw up within one month proposals:

- on the favorable taxation of the print mass media, as well as publications of children's, teaching, and other socially important literature;
- on the system of state subsidies for the print mass media.

3. The Russian Federation Ministry of Communications in conjunction with interested organizations shall prepare within one month proposals to improve the system for delivering and disseminating the print mass media.

4. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property and the Russian Federation Committee for the Press in conjunction with interested ministries, departments, and organizations shall submit within two months to the Russian Federation Government proposals on the procedure for privatizing printing enterprises, including those forming part of publishing and printing complexes, these proposals being linked in with the participation of collectives at mass media editorial offices and book publishers in their flotation and privatization.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Government

[Dated] Moscow, 10 January 1994

Yeltsin Allows 15 Jan Journalists' Ball in Kremlin

PM1201133194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1

["Own Information", ITAR-TASS report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "President Personally Upheld Journalists' Interests"]

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has given orders that the State Kremlin Palace be made available for the traditional journalists' ball 15 January, at which the annual awards ceremony of the Union of Journalists of Russia will take place.

As has already been reported, the previous day the journalists were denied the opportunity to hold the ball in this building as it is an "official facility." It took a personal intervention by the head of state for the journalists' request to be granted.

Economic Issues

Agrarians To Demand Government Repay Debts to Farmers

LD1201154494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] At a meeting with members of the Agrarian faction in the State Duma, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said that the Deputy Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha, who is responsible for the agro-industrial sector, would retain his post in Russia's new Cabinet. Interfax learned this from the leader of the Agrarian faction, Mikhail Lapshin.

According to him, in the near future his faction intends to prompt the State Duma to demand that the government pay its debts to the farmers under its last year's commitments, "in view of the catastrophic situation in farming." According to the farmers' calculations, the government owes them about one and a half trillion rubles, Lapshin said. "The situation in the countryside is very hard, and it will become simply catastrophic, unless we give the industry financial support by the coming spring," he stressed.

With reference to the problem of electing the State Duma speaker, Lapshin said: The Agrarian faction believes that his candidacy should be considered in a package with his deputies. Lapshin thinks that if a representative of small factions is elected as speaker, his four deputies should be elected from the four biggest factions: Russia's Choice, the Agrarians, the Communists and the Liberal Democrats. According to Lapshin, the fifth deputy should be elected from a faction of independent deputies or from the representatives of autonomies.

He confirmed that his faction still intended to propose Ivan Rybkin for the post of the speaker or one of his deputies.

According to Lapshin, at 16:00 on Wednesday the leaders of all parliamentary factions are to meet in the State Duma building to reach a final agreement on the candidacy of the speaker and his deputies.

Aide Cited on Land Legislation Edict

PM1301101994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Report by Yelena Yakovleva: "President Repeals Incorrect Decisions on Land Reform"]

[Text] A president's edict has been signed "on bringing Russian Federation land legislation into line with the Russian Federation Constitution."

"This is an entirely natural procedure: to remove the restrictive norms of the old legislation after the adoption of a new Constitution," Doctor of Economic Sciences Yevgeniya Serova, adviser to the minister of agriculture for economic questions, comments on the situation.

And so what has this edict repealed? It has transferred all powers of the abolished Soviets connected with the regulation of land relations to the local administrations. It has removed from the Land Code the concept of the "holding inherited for life," which was once introduced as a palliative under conditions when it was impossible to legalize land ownership.

In addition, Article 7 of the edict "on the regulation of land relations and the development of agrarian reform in Russia," which grants committees for land resources and land use the right to trade in land which, as IZVESTIYA wrote, is fraught with the danger of the emergence of a monopoly trader, has been repealed. Although this has no direct bearing on the Constitution it does correct an erroneous preceding decision. The decree and statute on holding competitions and auctions for the sale of land plots, which enshrined the unjustified rights of the Russian Committee for Land Reform and Land Resources, which followed the edict, are also being repealed.

In Yevgeniya Serova's opinion, from the viewpoint of legal technique, the amendments could have been done more punctiliously.

By mechanically repealing the concept of the "holding inherited for life" and failing to explain the terms under which this right is turned into property, millions of people have been plunged into an area which is not governed by law. And by depriving the Russian Committee for Land Reform and Land resources of the right to do deals involving land plots on the state's behalf (what they have in mind here is most likely the purchase of land for federal needs) they have removed competent people from this business. The "organ of state management," which will engage in this and which according to rumors should be created by the State Committee for the Administration of State Property, could be not very professional.

Dollar's New High Seen as Reversal of Paradoxical Trend*MK1201141094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 p 1*

[Rustam Narzikulov report under the "Money" rubric: "The Dollar Comes Closer to the 1300-Ruble Mark. An End to a Currency Paradox?"]

[Text] At yesterday's trading session of the Moscow interbank currency exchange the dollar reached its highest rate against the ruble since 23 September 1993—1,293 rubles [R] per dollar. The September record the dollar hit two days after the parliament was dissolved was R1,299 per dollar.

Experts attribute the R19 increase in the currency exchange rate on Tuesday (following Monday's R15 rise) to "uncertainty over the government's economic policy and the possibility of a government reshuffle." What is noteworthy are the pace of the ruble's slide and the Russian Federation Central Bank's line of conduct at the two latest trading sessions.

Compared with the first trading session in the new year on 5 January, the ruble dropped 3 percent. The speed of the currency exchange rates' movement was effectively in line with last year's typical inflation rate, which was determined by the scale of the creation of credit and money.

Hence, there would have been nothing extraordinary in the dollar's behavior on the Russian currency market after the New Year, had the country's population not become used to the fact that the exchange rate fluctuates regardless of how many rubles are printed.

But the situation of the second half of 1993—a stable ruble accompanied by a 30-percent semiannual inflation in July-December—is characteristic only of economies in transition at a time when prices change significantly and currencies' purchasing power parities come closer to their exchange rates. This paradox was bound to end sooner or later, and it cannot be ruled out that the ruble's fall yesterday was a symptom that a normal, quantitative interrelation between inflation and currency exchange rate dynamics was finally being restored.

If this is so, the general political and economic background to the events at the Moscow interbank currency exchange ("uncertainty of economic policy" and the possibility of a reshuffle) is merely a pretext for reversing the currency trends. Maybe the Central Bank, too, has a similar view on the situation as it nodded agreement to the dollar's new exchange rate figures (according to some banks, yesterday the Central Bank offered for sale a meager \$16.5 million).

Ruble Falls Against Dollar at 12 Jan Auctions*PM1301110194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jan 94 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Ivan Zhagel: "Dollar Has Increased in Cost by 42 Rubles in One Go"]

[Text] The routine 12 January auctions at the Moscow interbank currency exchange reflected a drastic destabilization in the situation on the currency market. The ruble exchange rate fell to a record low and was 1,335 rubles [R] per a U.S. dollar, while at the previous auctions the rate was R1,293 per dollar.

Analyzing the reasons for such a drastic surge in the exchange rate, A. Zakharov, general director of the Moscow currency exchange, noted that one of the main reasons for the increased demand for dollars is the ban on currency trade introduced at the start of the year. In this connection trade organizations buying food and goods abroad have been obliged to start converting their ruble profit through the exchange. And so far market mechanisms and the efforts of the Central Bank are unable to neutralize and even out the increased demand or currency.

In addition, in A. Zakharov's opinion, the uncertainty of the political situation and the lack of clarity as to what economic program the Russian Government will implement are also having an effect. Incidentally, it is worth recalling here that the previous drastic decline in the ruble exchange rate was in September last year, that is when the Russian president's edict on the dissolution of parliament. So that political instability remains a very important factor determining the state of the national currency.

Finally, we cannot discount either the fact that in accordance with the president's edict "on financing state expenditure from the Russian Federation republican budget in the first quarter of 1994" money has begun to enter all spheres of the economy. And since control over its passage and expenditure remains at a low level, a considerable proportion of these financial resources is starting to surface at the exchange, putting adverse pressure on the ruble exchange rate.

Economist Examines Next Options in Economy*PM1201161594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian
11 Jan 94 First Edition p 4*

[Interview with economist Pavel Bunich by A. Yevgenyev under the "Point of View" rubric; place and date not given: "The Man Who Does Not Hurry Is Always on Time"]

[Text] [Yevgenyev] Pavel Grigoryevich, do you not think that, in its uncertainty, the current situation resembles the situation that we had a year ago? You remember: Parliament flew into a rage, Gaydar left, and the premier's chair, it seemed, was occupied by a man of a different mettle—a "gas magnate." No one could say

then what awaited the country. Even the commentaries of analysts were somewhat timid and inarticulate.

[Bunich] At that time I, too, would not have undertaken to make forecasts. Chernomyrdin was unknown and not understood. Hence everyone was possessed by great alarm over whether we would continue with the reforms, or retreat back to the command economy. Right now, things are calmer in this sense. The premier's intentions are clear. The same goes for the general direction of movement toward the market. The question is, how to move forward. We can continue to do what we did before—then it will be just as difficult as now, but will not become worse. The other option is acceleration. We will get to the goal quicker, but at the cost of maximum exertion of energy, which society might not have in sufficient supply on the home stretch. And finally, we could try a more sparing regime—extended in time, and not so socially austere. All these are, in general, questions of tactics. Not one of these genuinely market-oriented models is a retreat to the past.

[Yevgenyev] On the other hand, the State Duma is a pig in a poke.

[Bunich] I hope that we will never again see the naked extremism that lately characterized the Supreme Soviet. I somehow think that the parliament of the present convocation will be "fluid"—that is to say that there will not be draconian discipline. Just because a man is elected from one bloc or party or another, he will not be deprived of the freedom to think and make decisions independently. The democrats will most likely squabble among themselves over secondary issues, but when it comes to crucial issues they will find in themselves the strength to unite. I do not know Zhirinovskiy's program, but I am not quite convinced that he will blindly follow the communists with their naivete toward everything to do with the market. Thus the outlook looks to me at least no worse than one year ago.

[Yevgenyev] But the Duma will gather and raise a hue and cry: Industry is perishing, everyone to the rescue of industry!

[Bunich] The slump in production is indeed great. According to some statistics, there has been a 52-percent downturn in production since 1989. Although this process is not simple. Some enterprises are commonly acknowledged to be doomed, and should expire on the road to a normal economy—they are superfluous! Others are so unprofitable, labor-intensive, and nontechnological that there is no sense in reviving them. I am more worried by something else: While losing enterprises, we are creating nothing in their place.

[Yevgenyev] With an annual inflation rate of 1,000 percent?

[Bunich] This is the very premise on which the Cabinet proceeds: Whatever the cost, inflation must be squeezed. But what is the result? It is still harder to cut expenditure, and you do not especially increase revenues—

production shrinks, and tax revenue into the state coffers with it. The jacket shrinks to fit the wearer. Hence the delays over settling debts to the military-industrial complex and the countryside and over payments to the budget-financed sphere. I am afraid that stabilization achieved at such a cost would prove unstable.

At one time we loved to talk about production reserves. Today there are almost none left. Fixed capital is 50 percent worn out. The volume of investments in industry has fallen by two-thirds since 1989. Enterprises do not have the funds for simple reproduction, let alone development.

I am not calling for trillions of rubles to be poured wholesale into industry again. But I do think it necessary to aid through reasonable allowances those who are ready to take risks, who have the ability and knowledge to escape from the clutches of the crisis, and have a promising business plan. Picking out such enterprises is work of a special kind. Piecework, if you like. We have somewhat gotten out of the habit; from the pinnacles of power it looks to some people almost shameful. What is an individual little plant, pit, or building, on the scale of Mother Russia! The time will come when these things will get back on their feet by themselves. Reliance on this "by themselves" could prove illusory. Credits and taxes acceptable to all on the strength of which we might get back on our feet will not appear in our country quickly, if we undertake nothing. At the same time, labor collectives are realizing more and more clearly that no one is going to come along and wave a magic wand for them or cross their palms with silver, and are ready to go without some things today in order to reap the profits tomorrow. An example that is near to home for me: Right now in the Academy of the National Economy we are building a facility that will bring in hard-currency revenue, and have told our staff that we could pay them far more, but then the construction work would be delayed. Choose the one or the other. They all decided that we would be patient for three years and then let the facility. But on the other hand, inflation is snapping at our heels: Better a bird in the hand...

[Yevgenyev] Nevertheless, without major investments, you will not get far.

[Bunich] Well, first, we are getting wiser after all. How many joint-stock companies of the closed type appeared in the initial period. Now they have got accustomed to their new surroundings, looked around, and are gradually "opening up." They are issuing shares and increasing capital.

It is said that loans at the market rate are dear. But why not take them on security? Bankers do not especially trust promises to pay through future output—maybe it will exist, maybe not. But industrial property, land—that is reliable. And advantageous to the industry itself. You keep the money, and you even get more in the form of handsome credits. That is how it is done the world over. But in our country people are still apprehensive: As if

you were removing your underwear and taking it to the pawnbroker's. What it is, I do not know: Either the general atmosphere of uncertainty is taking its toll, or directors have insufficient grasp of the basics.

Investment auctions could be more widely practised, selling shares advantageously to those who guarantee investment contributions—these also amount to assets of a kind.

But look what is happening with depreciation payments. They were deliberately exempted from taxation in order to ensure the revival of production. But enterprises are constantly plowing them into pay. Since the new year, following the revaluation, the value of fixed capital has grown thirtyfold. But what is the benefit of this, if we continue to squander funds set aside for depreciation [amortizatsiyu prodat]? That being the case, you might as well tax it, if you cannot put things in order.

[Yevgenyev] But you say we should start helping industry. But it will once again throw everything to the four winds.

[Bunich] What I mean is: He who seeks is capable of finding something. But this is not enough. On the other hand, we should help only those who know how to make use of this help. And not, of course, state enterprises. Even in the current difficult times privatized facilities look far healthier than state facilities. Among the former only 9 percent are unprofitable, against 20 percent in the state sphere, and profitability is on average 10 percent higher. But of course, they were not allocated sufficient time to recover.

[Yevgenyev] Nevertheless, Ukraine has clearly shown what happens when you try with all your might to preserve industry.

[Bunich] I think that we have already passed this station. Also the station at which it was justified to pay any price for victory over inflation. Now we should look ahead and learn to optimize our decisions, while not forgetting about the old rule of thumb: "The man who does not hurry is always on time." Let the budget temporarily lose out somewhat over relatively low taxes and cheap credit for a chosen few—at reasonable levels, this is not so terrible. Some inflationary indulgences quickly become a powerful anti-inflationary factor—this is what should be kept in mind. Tomorrow's gains will cover today's losses many times over. He who takes his opportunity will not only pay back his debt a hundredfold, but also will become a reliable support for the new economy, which quite simply has no chance of developing in the present conditions.

'Financial Bottleneck' Blamed for Decline in Private Farms

PM1301112594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Konovalov report: "Growth of Private Farming Stops"]

[Text] An alarming trend has recently been noted in Russia's private farming movement: The growth in number of private farms has come to a halt and a noticeable exodus of private farmers has begun in a number of regions. There have been hundreds of announcements by private farms in the Far East and Russia's south that they are ceasing their activities.

However, it would be a mistake to regard these facts as evidence that private farming in Russia has no future, as supporters of collective farming were quick to do. If you look more carefully at the statistics, you can see that even in regions where the reduction in the numbers of private farmers is most significant, reaching 3-4 percent, there is at the same time an increase in the area of land used by private farmers. Private peasant farms are being enlarged, land is being redistributed, and economic management of private farms is being optimized.

This process is absolutely natural and to be expected. More than a year ago Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun forecast in this newspaper an imminent slowdown in what was at that time rapid growth of private farming as the potential for such growth is limited, and forecast the optimization of private farming's share in the rural economy for a protracted period. On the other hand, the development of private farming through the reform of collective farms, turning them into joint-stock and cooperative farms, as is happening at present, should have proceeded much more intensively.

But individual, family farms in the hands of private farmers are also proving their viability. They have approximately a 5-percent share of agricultural land today. But according to what are for the moment preliminary figures for last year's results, private farmers' production of basic types of agricultural output was significantly higher than 5 percent. Private farmers sold more than 2 million tonnes of grain alone to state resources while the state purchased in all about 26 million tonnes.

Nevertheless, problems in the private farming sector have gotten more acute recently, as, incidentally, they have in the agricultural sector as a whole. This is first and foremost linked to the financial situation. In the opinion of Vladimir Bashmachnikov, chairman of the Association of Russian Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives [AKKOR], the fairly massive exodus of peasants from private farming is due to the fact that a "financial bottleneck" arose at the end of last year: The state dragged its feet paying for output which had already been delivered, and the banks harshly demanded the return of credits. Many peasant farms found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin.

According to Bashmachnikov, the situation has changed today. Some of the state debts have been paid off and credits have been extended, although at high interest rates. A search is under way to find sensible types of relations between private farmers and banking structures.

Finance Minister Under Fire, Criticized by Military, U.S.

MK1301091594 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 1

[Ivan Generalov report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Boris Fedorov's Fate Sealed?"]

[Text] It has come to light that V. Chernomyrdin's entourage is discussing a future candidate for finance minister. B. Fedorov's track record in this position has not only been coming under fire recently, but he is also being blamed for the results of the recent Russian parliamentary elections where the votes of the "marginals" bloc "formed" by the finance minister were of decisive importance for the defeat of Russia's Choice.

Few in the Russian Government dare to ignore Russian Federation presidential edicts the way B. Fedorov regularly does. The latest such example is B.N. Yeltsin's decision on repaying last year's debts to the defense complex in the first quarter of 1994. Judging by the reaction to the Russian Federation edict by the Finance Ministry under B. Fedorov, military enterprises will have to whistle for their 3 trillion rubles as they continue to go hat in hand. While the Defense Ministry is once again going to be singled out as the one to blame, the Finance Ministry stays in the shadows.

Moscow military men are known to have recently pinned on him the label of an "unsinkable aircraft carrier of the United States of America!?"

But now there have emerged serious signs of dissatisfaction with B. Fedorov also on the part of the United States. Strobe Talbott, "the top man in the United States in charge of stability of relations with Russia," has admitted to a narrow circle of people around him that the gamble on B. Fedorov was a mistake. Things have reached a point where his seat in the World Bank, regarded until recently as being "reserved for good" for him, was taken by someone else, and the Americans seem no longer to be trying to pitch direct links with B. Fedorov, as they would not like to take part of the blame for the state of the Russian economy.

It is not ruled out though that Fedorov has simply become a fall guy in the clash of two economic strategies residing together in the Russian Government. To fell this guy would be 90 percent of his opponents' victory.

Government Drafts Decree on Agro-Industrial Reorganization

PM1301113794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jan 94 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Latest Reorganization"]

[Text] We learned from informed sources that the government has prepared a draft decree "On the Functioning of the Russian Federation Agro-Industrial Complex in 1994," whereby the Ministry of Agriculture and

Food is to become the central federal executive organ in charge of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex.

The reorganized ministry is assigned the functions of forming state food and raw material resources of grain and oil-seed crop seeds, and new departments for the food and processing industry, the mixed feed industry, and for procurement and produce shipment are to be set up within the ministry.

What is more, there are plans to set up a number of sector state, state/cooperative, and state/joint-stock formations under the ministry with shared participation, delegating to these formations certain state management functions with regard to fundamental specialized sectors.

Government Moves To Ease Economic Situation Facing Press

LD1301130794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1104 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—On the eve of Russian Press Day, the government took steps to alleviate the worsening financial situation of the printed mass media. In particular, the government ordered a halt to the implementation of its own order issued on 25 November, "On the reassessment of the fixed assets of enterprises and organizations," in as much as the order concerns printing plants. In addition, instructions have been sent to federal ministries and departments with the aim of resolving the press's economic problems.

The 25 November order upset Russian journalists and editors because it led to an immediate sixfold raise in printing costs.

In particular, the Russian Federation Press Committee was given a month to draft proposals containing tax breaks for papers and journals, and children's, academic, and other socially significant literature. The committee must also prepare proposals on state subsidies for the printed mass media.

Another order instructs the Press Committee, the State Property Committee, and other involved departments to present to the government within two months proposals on the means of privatizing printing plants with the participation of editorial and book publishing staff.

The November order on reassessing fixed assets almost led to a powerful protest action by Russian journalists, which would have been expressed in a temporary strike by the majority of publishing collectives. The order was the "last straw," which would have broken the financial back of the Russian press. In addition, the threat of strike forced the government to consider other problems, which have gone unsolved for years. The journalists' proposals were accepted by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin during their recent meeting.

Judging by the latest order, the government will gradually lower the tax burden placed on periodicals and socially significant literature. As far as the system of state subsidies for newspapers and journals go, it will probably be meaningfully altered. Journalists do not like the current financing system because it makes them dependent on the government. The new financing system will probably include the proposals from editorial offices, which suggest that the government subsidize paper, printing, and communication needs.

The long-debated question of the participation of editorial staff in the privatization of publishing-printing enterprises, if it is resolved in the affirmative, could enable journalists to be their own bosses instead of being hired labor. The most important accomplishment would be the destruction of the government monopoly on the country's printing base.

Naturally, all of this will come into being only if the instructions given to the government departments are really carried out.

Military Issues

Typhoon-Class Strategic Nuclear Submarine Featured

PM1201130794 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Report over video of Russian nuclear submarines introduced by journalist Aleksandr Ostrovskiy; from the "Poligon" program]

[Excerpt] [Ostrovskiy] Thoughts about the future of the Russian Navy are on the minds of naval servicemen, and they are not alone in this. Here are two reports by Igor Kondo and Jim Stuart, a U.S. military observer.

[Kondo over video of submarines in bay, attributed to VoenTV] Because of the sharp reduction in Russia's military arsenals, the Navy's responsibility for ensuring Russia's security and sovereignty has increased. This applies in particular to our nuclear submarine fleet, since, in the near future, around 50 percent of Russia's strategic nuclear potential will be based on submarines. This nuclear potential will essentially be concentrated on the latest Typhoon-class submarines armed with strategic missiles. It is possible to claim with confidence that these submarines embody the best achievements of our modern science and technology. Saturated with modern electronics and armed with various types of missiles and torpedoes, designed to protect both underwater and surface targets from enemy attacks, these submarines are fitted with 20 strategic missiles. They can strike from any position, from any part of the world ocean, and against any target. They have no fear of ocean depths or Arctic ice. These submarines are constantly in alert duty mode, irrespective of whether they are at sea or moored at base. Despite their huge dimensions—they are more than 180 meters long and around 30 meters wide—they have

excellent maneuverability and their survivability is some 40 percent higher than that of similar NATO-country submarines. In short, the Typhoon-class strategic nuclear missile-armed submarines are the pride and joy of our Navy and the guarantor of Russia's security. No other country in the world has such powerful modern submarines in its arsenal. It is no accident that foreign intelligence services watch these submarines closely. A Typhoon only has to put to sea and, in addition to enemy ASW ships, two U.S. Los Angeles-class multirole strike submarines immediately mount a search.

The Navy has more than enough problems at the moment. They include fuel and spare part shortages and expired overhaul deadlines. The very future of the Russian Navy is uncertain. New ships are not being built. All this is affecting navigational safety and places an additional burden on naval servicemen. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry's Inefficiency Slammed

PM1301114594 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by Colonel I. Ivanov (according to footnote, "The author of these remarks is a colonel with the General Staff. For obvious reasons, we have decided to change his name") under the "Letters from Garrisons and Staffs" rubric: "In the Corridors of Military Power: General Vanity"—from issue No. 1 of "People's Army" section, described as "special issue for Russia's soldiers"]

[Text] Arbat Square. A high white-marble building with oak doors, a large contingent of armed guards. Few people have an opportunity to take a look here. And even fewer have the slightest general idea of what is actually happening here, what processes are under way, and where they might lead. Meanwhile our fellow citizens—the taxpayers, in the West's parlance—are entitled to know all this.

Right from the first few weeks of the Russian defense department's existence, the incumbent minister took a fancy to repeating that its apparatus would be significantly cut back. But what do we actually have today? The following figures were published not so long ago: Whereas in Yazov's time the Union Ministry of Defense had about 6,000 staffers, under Grachev their number has increased by a factor of 1.5 to almost 9,000. But even these "official" data are hardly credible. Because the numerical strength not just of the Ministry of Defense, but also of the Army as a whole is so secret that, in all likelihood, neither the minister, nor his deputies, nor the president's advisers have any precise information.

Some six or eight weeks ago, presidential adviser D. Volkogonov said in an interview with ARGUMENTY I FAKTY that the Russian Army's numerical strength was 1.8 million men. In the last few days of last year, Colonel General M. Kolesnikov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, claimed in the newspaper SEGODNYA that our Army numbers 2.1 million men. At a press

conference held literally the next day, General P. Grachev cited what he described as absolutely accurate figures—2.341 million men.... You must agree that this difference of 241,000 is quite a serious matter. It appears that the minister of defense has "found" 24 divisions somewhere, while the chief of General Staff has "lost" them.... You must agree: When there are such blatant discrepancies in the data used by the Army's top men, where is the certainty that they have accurately counted their apparatus? Thus, instead of 9,000, there might be 10,000 or even 12,000....

How was the concept of the current Ministry of Defense conceived and implemented? It was planned that, in organizational terms, the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense would comprise the General Staff and command and control organs subordinate either to deputy ministers of defense or directly to the minister. It ought to be specifically mentioned at this point that the process of forming the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense was left almost entirely at the military department's discretion. This gave a completely free hand to the top generals (who resurfaced in the wake of the August 1991 events), enabling them not only to retain as many subdivisions as possible but also to create new ones. Even when the expediency of doing so was doubted by individual functionaries of the presidential or government apparatus or the Security Council. Incidentally, the control they exercised over the creation and reformation of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense proved to be formal and ineffective.

Grachev launched "cutbacks" in the Ministry of Defense by increasing the number of his deputies. Never before in the Russian Army's entire history has the military minister had as many direct deputies as Pavel Sergeyevich has today—seven, to be precise! Each one of them, of course, has his own apparatus.

Back in the past, Andrey Kokoshin's appearance in the ministry with the rank of first deputy minister of defense prompted sharp debates among the professional military. According to logic, this appointment should have symbolized a "weakening of the militarist spirit" and the stepping up of the military department's openness to civilian society. Kokoshin was assigned responsibility for implementing a new military-technical policy, organizing research and development, and ordering arms and military equipment. Since time immemorial, these matters have been decided by the General Staff in its capacity as the Armed Forces' "think tank," which actually determined the nature of the Army and the way it ought to be armed. The separation of these two functions was absurd from its very inception.

Many top generals in the military department admit that, during the 18 months of its existence, the influence exercised by Kokoshin's lot on military-technical policy in the Armed Forces has been identical to "the influence of a fly on the speed of a train rushing downhill." The reason is that virtually all projects of military-technical policy concerning the planning and coordination of

research and development, the planning of series-production orders and long-term research in the sphere of new technologies, and mainly the actual implementation of plans, have been swept aside like houses of cards by the gigantic avalanche of financial shortages and the downfall of the defense industry and its scientific and technical potential (to almost 50 percent of its former level!).

Judge for yourselves: How can we talk of work efficiency in view of the facts that not a single ship's hull was laid last year, that only one of the almost 40 latest combat helicopters that the troops need so badly has been delivered, that the Russian Federation Air Force has not been allocated even 20 percent of the combat craft it needs, and that the manufacture of aircraft for the Military Transport Aviation has come to a virtual halt? The ministry does not even have the money to pay for the reconditioning of old equipment. Everything that Kokoshin showed to journalists during his publicity trips to test sites and design bureaus had been conceived and implemented long before he arrived at the Ministry of Defense. Unfortunately, during the 18 months of its existence, the work efficiency of this newly formed apparatus has not undergone a single in-depth audit, and it has been mainly bogged down in the preparation of many hundreds of papers, instructions, and directives, most of which have remained unimplemented due to the agonizing state of the military-industrial complex.

The duplication of functional duties is typical of the organization of many of the present ministry's structures. Hence the excessive inflation of their staffs. The authors of the Ministry of Defense table of organization applied a flawed principle: They first created the directorate and only afterwards defined its tasks. Moreover, they lost sight of the logic of building up all the department's "stories."

The General Staff, for example, has a specialized directorate that is in charge of nuclear policy problems. It also has the Center for Military-Strategic Studies, whose attention is also focused on "nuclear" questions. But the Ministry of Defense structure also incorporates the National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center. The absurdity of such parallelism is obvious. It is also very expensive for the state, since all the aforementioned subdivisions employ a total of about 300 staffers—several dozens of whom are generals. And yet, according to the opinion of competent specialists from the General Staff, the tasks of these structures could be tackled with equal efficiency by just one directorate with a total staff of some 60-70 officers.

There are quite a few examples of parallelism between Ministry of Defense and General Staff structures. We have already said that the General Staff includes the Center for Military-Strategic Studies. Its very name indicates that the subdivision in question—by dint of the fact that it is part of the Armed Forces' "think tank" and by the nature of its activity—cannot disregard questions

of military organizational development or, consequently, questions of military reform. This is because reform is a strategic question of military organizational development at the present stage. But a Directorate of Military Organizational Development and Reform, directly subordinate to the minister, was also created on the initiative of the minister himself. Incidentally, it is as secret as the General Staff's Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU] when it comes to monitoring by structures of state power. It is no accident that it is also dubbed a ministry within the ministry. Many people in the military department today have realized with absolute clarity that this directorate is nothing but a decorative superstructure. The General Staff's scientific potential is sufficiently high to enable it to resolve with much greater efficiency the selfsame tasks that the minister has seen fit to assign to an "alien" structure.

Colonel General Boris Gromov, deputy minister of defense, is in charge of the Directorate for Implementation of Military Cooperation Programs with CIS member states. Another deputy minister of defense is, in parallel, in charge of the Directorate for International Military Cooperation which, in its turn, comprises an impressive number of directorate staffers. The selfsame deputy minister is also in charge of the International Treaty Directorate. A total of, once again, several hundred highly paid staffers who very frequently resolve identical tasks.... All these numerous directorates, duplicating one another, justify their existence by means of constant frenetic activity, which boils down to useless shuffling of cadres, offices, and subdivisions.

Ask any staffer of the Ministry of Defense or the General Staff what he has found most tiring in the recent past. You will get a unanimous answer: The endless organizational and cadre reshuffles. One main directorate chief admitted that people are already fed up with moving from one office to another and compiling sundry statutes, job descriptions, and instructions. Over the last 18 months, some Ministry of Defense directorates have undergone three or even four changes of their structure, name, job descriptions, subordination, and numerical strength.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Main Directorate for Work with Personnel is in the throes of its umpteenth fundamental reformation. This time, evidently, due to the fact that quite a few Army votes were cast for Zhirinovskiy. But this is not the sole reason for the perceived need to disband or reduce this directorate. There is also the following reason: "Soldiers cannot be educated from Moscow." By extension of this logic, it can also be claimed that troops cannot be commanded from Moscow.

Here is another interesting question, often asked by taxpayers: Why is it that, despite the constant claims by military authorities that the Army and the Ministry of Defense are being cut back, the number of generals in the Armed Forces and the military department itself is steadily growing? There have been reports that Russia's

2 million-strong Army today has 500 generals more than the 4 million-strong Soviet Army. Do you recall how, literally a few days before the April referendum, the president signed an edict awarding general's rank to almost 150 officers.... Not a single army in the world today has so few soldiers per general as the Russian Army.

Today it can be boldly asserted that the absence of real reforms in Russia's Ministry of Defense, the mindless piling of some structures' functions onto others, and the unjustified inflation of staff strengths and the number of generals are the direct consequence of the lack of monitoring of the Ministry of Defense leadership's actions. The Ministry of Defense has remained, just as it has always been, "a law unto itself," a mysterious and inaccessible fortress in the heart of Moscow and Russia. It remains in the grips of cadre and management over-staffing, with generals manning the telephones of top chiefs, reading official mail, and being in charge of desk allocation, carpets, and light bulbs. This can be seen in the apparatus of Pavel Grachev himself, where the chief of secretariat (his office, in common parlance) wears a general's stars. And yet his work could be successfully tackled by an ensign or even a civilian employee. Or the office of secretary of the Ministry of Defense Collegium. Do you actually need a general to telephone all Collegium members and notify them of the time of the next session and then compile an account of its proceedings?

So far there has not been even a hint, as the saying goes, of proper reforms in Russia's Ministry of Defense. This is what has happened so far: The military department's table of organization has been redrawn on several occasions, the names of various structures have been changed, unsuitable men have been displaced and "their own" have replaced them. Incidentally, it ought to be especially emphasized that a primitive purge of unsuitable men from the apparatus is taking place under the guise of the ministry's reformation. Dozens of most experienced professionals—colonels and generals—have been taken off the ministry's strength in 1993 and subsequently dismissed. A similar purge is also expected now, in view of the fact that the Army and many honest officers—cadre military men—demonstrated their scorn for the incumbent reformers at the elections.

Federal Assembly

More Support for Shumeyko as Federation Council Chairman

LD1301100194 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0943
GMT 13 Jan 94

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS - Ninety members of the Russian Federation Council Thursday nominated Vladimir Shumeyko for chairmanship of the new Russian legislature's upper chamber in a secret nomination

procedure, thus giving him a better chance to be elected than in the first two rounds of voting Wednesday.

Shumeyko's name appeared on slips with nominations filed by every member of the chamber ahead of the actual voting, which is also to be by secret ballot.

If the same number of ballots are cast in his favour as there were nominations it will take Shumeyko over the 50-percent hurdle and land him safely in the chair.

On Wednesday, in the first round of voting this pro-Yeltsin candidate missed the election by a single vote by scoring 85 votes, one short of the required 86 vote majority. But the second round confusingly brought his figure down to 81, just two votes ahead of his main rival, Siberian industrialist Petr Romanov.

The situation has changed in an unpredictable manner again. Today Romanov was renominated by a mere 37 people. The other challengers, Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, president of an ethnic Kalmik Republic, and Eduard Rossel, the leader of the powerful association of several industrial regions in the Urals, got few votes each and have next to no chance to be elected.

Members Predict Election of Shumeyko

LD1201161594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433
GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Federation Council members have elected a House Chairman by secret ballot. During a break, an Interfax reporter asked several lawmakers to forecast election results.

The Kemerovo Region's Governor Aman Tuleyev believes that First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko will be elected Speaker of the House, "even though I voted against him." He explained his belief by the fact that administration chiefs and other House members had come in for too much pressure from the executive branch.

Tuleyev voiced fear that if Shumeyko were elected Chairman, the House "would turn into a Presidential Council." He remarked for this reason that regions were at odds with the central government on both political and economic issues. At the same time, he argued that Shumeyko's victory meant overall regional support for the president and government.

President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov of Kalmykia believes that the Federation Council should mirror the interests of voters rather than bow to the government, "a line being sought to be imposed on House members." He noted in this connection that the government's policy had not been reflecting the interests of constituents in recent time. That, in his words, was borne out by the parliamentary elections on December 12. "If the nation had backed up the government's course, there wouldn't have been the Zhirinovskiy's phenomenon," he remarked.

According to Ilyumzhinov, the nomination of Shumeyko means presidential pressure on deputies. He admitted that he himself had voted for Peter Romanov.

Ex-Speaker of the House of Nationalities of Russia's former Supreme Soviet Ramazan Abdulatipov declared that he had no doubt about the endorsement of Shumeyko as Speaker. In his opinion, the election of the First Vice-Premier meant that the House "extends a hand of cooperation to the country's president and government." "It is important that the Federation Council's position be appreciated by the Head of State and Council of Ministers," he said.

The Nizhny Novgorod Region's Governor Boris Nemtsov feels that if Shumeyko is elected, the Federation Council will have proper relations with the president. However, he noted that "the interests of the lawmakers, representing Federation Territories, must not suffer from personal attachments of Shumeyko and Yeltsin."

Nemtsov agreed that the Council could become a buffer between the president and State Duma. However, neither the president nor Duma can desire a mediator, he added.

Shumeyko Elected

LD1301111594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in
Russian 1100 GMT 13 Jan 94

[Text] Vladimir Shumeyko was today elected chairman of the Federation Council in the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. He got 98 votes in a secret ballot. His main rival, Petr Romanov, got 52 votes. Eduard Rossel got six votes, and Kirsan Ilyumzhinov seven votes.

Deputies To Be Proposed 14 Jan

LD1301153494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1413
GMT 13 Jan 94

[Text] Speaker of the Federation Council Vladimir Shumeyko, elected to the post Thursday, has told the deputies that he intends to do his best for the Federation Council as the supreme body of state power. By Shumeyko's proposal, it was decided to make nominations for the post of the deputy speaker on Friday morning.

Before that he intends to hold consultations on candidates with different deputy factions.

In line with the earlier approved regulations, the speaker of the Federation Council will have three deputies.

Shumeyko said that all deputies, despite their posts, will have equal rights.

One member of Shumeyko's team has described as a convincing victory Shumeyko's election to the post of the speaker. No one can reproach Shumeyko for victory due to pressure groups. Ninety-eight votes were cast by convincing supporters of Vladimir Shumeyko, he said.

Election Seen as Necessary

PM1301105194 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 1

[Ravil Zaripov article under "Topic of Day" rubric: "You Cannot Become Speaker Without a Voice"]

[Text] Yesterday's work of the Federation Council acquired a scandalous, sensational complexion. Vladimir Shumeyko, for whom the chair of Federation Council chairman had already been prepared, failed to get it by one vote, having secured the support of 85 deputies (it is noteworthy that one voting paper was not dropped into the box but was taken away). The previous day Shumeyko had been thought sure to win, since in the secret nomination of candidacies he had collected 78 votes, whereas his closest rival in terms of the number of votes had just 13 (Petr Romanov, general director of Krasnoyarsk's "Yenisey" Chemical Combine Production Association).

Meanwhile, Shumeyko had been confidently answering any questions, not being diffident. "My daughter is working in the United States, and my grandson is a U.S. citizen. This is how it has worked out." At the same time another candidate—Eduard Rossel—was posing as someone "humiliated and insulted," persecuted by the central power. According to the deputies' reaction, he did not win any sympathy with this. Moreover, the senators categorically disliked the allusion that he made: What has happened to me is just the beginning, and you will see there is worse to come. Rossel did not forget to make digs at Shumeyko, getting at his moves from one branch of power to another. As a result, in the admission of deputies, some of the votes "flowed" from Rossel to Romanov.

Nobody doubts that Shumeyko will be elected. But what will such a choice mean? That the majority of the regions (voluntarily or compulsorily) will go along with the president and the government and will support its policy. Deputy Aman Tuleyev believes that in this situation the Federation Council is being turned virtually "into a presidential council." Can they, however, vote differently when 54 percent of the deputies are administration heads, to whom are added people on the president's team and economic planners dependent on the center? According to Aman Tuleyev and Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, there was strong individual pressure (obrabotka) on deputies. Since the budget for 1994 has not yet been adopted, and the majority need subsidies, direct investments, and quotas, it is obvious what the subtext of such talk is. Let us not forget that the administration heads who received deputies' mandates from their voters had, at the same time, been appointed by the president. Boris Yeltsin appointed them and can also remove them: The Bryansk "experience" of former Administration Head Yu. Lodkin will be remembered for a long time. According to Karelian Supreme Soviet Chairman Viktor Stepanov, it is important that the Federation Council does not turn into an ideological department or tool of

the president. Not that the threat of this is that great, since, when the talk turns to specific questions—the budget, for example—the administration heads might be transformed. The reason? If contradictions arise between the regions and the center, their actual responsibility to their own district could outweigh the pressure from the government. I have ascertained from conversations with administration heads that they also want Shumeyko to be elected because "he is the only person who will be able to control us. If Romanov is elected, the same situation as with the former Supreme Soviet will be repeated."

The second round of the secret vote intensified the sensation which had become apparent. Petr Romanov got 79 votes and Vladimir Shumeyko 81 votes. The reason for this was Yu. Chernichenko in the chair and...Shumeyko himself.

After the results of the first round of voting were announced, the former attempted to "quash" an additional vote for Vladimir Shumeyko, referring to a telegram received from North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Chairman Askharbek Galazov. The deputies objected categorically. It unexpectedly came to light that the telegram had been sent not to the chairman of the tellers commission but to the president of Russia and directly to Vladimir Shumeyko. Instead of getting up and removing the tension which had arisen in the hall, Vladimir Shumeyko stayed silent and so lost votes.

Federation Council Leaders Discuss Plans

MK1201124094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
12 Jan 94 p 4

[Reports on interviews with Federation Council members during the 11 January session by Sergey Kaverin: "Federation Council: The Process Is Under Way"]

[Text] In the Federation Council's lobby our correspondent managed to strike up a conversation during yesterday's meeting with some of the "key figures" of the current political Olympus.

Kalmykian President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov

[Kaverin] How do you assess the parliament's lineup?

[Ilyumzhinov] I think that the Russian president has gotten a mirror reflection of our society, which is actually entirely natural... after the October shooting of Russians.

[Kaverin] Your attitude to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader?

[Ilyumzhinov] It is normal, despite the press' hysteria about an onslaught of the browns. I do not see that.

[Kaverin] That is, you agree with his concept of a unitary and indivisible Russia, where all entities will be territorial?

[Ilyumzhinov] No, we are not going to be part of anything.

Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev

[Kaverin] Is Tatarstan planning to take part in the next elections for the Russian parliament?

[Shaymiyev] Everything will depend on whether we will be able finally to straighten out our relations with the Russian Federation. If these relations are straightened out and a treaty is signed, the elections will undoubtedly take place in Tatarstan.

[Kaverin] Are you sure that this treaty will be signed?

[Shaymiyev] I think that both sides are presently interested in it.

[Kaverin] What is your status at this forum?

[Shaymiyev] I am a guest.

Ramazan Abdulatipov, Chairman of the Council of the Nationalities of the Former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

[Kaverin] According to what principle do you think factions will be formed in parliament?

[Abdulatipov] According to their interests. For example, those who call for the Federation Treaty to be observed. In other words, we should join forces on substance, not according to formal characteristics.

[Kaverin] What problems do you think the upper chamber may encounter in the near future?

[Abdulatipov] I think these are primarily relations between the Federation components and the federal authorities. As for the substance of the federal structure, I think that the form of Federation components' joining the Federation should be retained and the rules of the game should be the same for all. So that regardless of the status of a Federation component people who live there will feel as equals.

[Kaverin] Are there "hidden snags" in the parliament's work?

[Abdulatipov] Control over the budget, in the first place. The current state authorities are out of control from top to bottom.

[Kaverin] What are your impressions from the president's address?

[Abdulatipov] He returned for yet another time to the principle of the separation of the powers of the Center and the Federation components. I think that this effectively amounts to Boris Nikolayevich's return to the Federation Treaty. I can give you an absurd example where half the seats in the Duma are held by parties that operate only in Moscow.

Peasants' Party Leader Yuriy Chernichenko

[Kaverin] What is the main area of the Federation Council's activity?

[Chernichenko] It must discuss bills coming from the State Duma. This is why the Council itself will not be much of a problem. The most important thing for it now is to create a democratic staff, approximately 10 committees, that would make it effective. We also need to do it so as to put a deputy above the staff, not the other way around.

Former Moscow City Soviet Chairman Nikolay Gonchar

[Kaverin] What is your reaction to Yeltsin's speech?

[Gonchar] A positive one. I liked the idea that there is no alternative to searching for accord.

Nemtsov Opposes Regional Division of Federation Council

*MK1301114094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian
13 Jan 94 p 2*

[Yelena Tregubova report under the "Alternative" rubric: "Governors Begin To Feel at Home in Parliament. Some Federation Council Members Advocate Territorial Factions; Others, Party Factions"]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod Governor Boris Nemtsov, elected a Federation Council deputy, termed as utopian the idea of dividing the upper chamber into regional factions. "No strong politician who really represents the interests of local elites—like myself, for example—will have a part in any such thing," Mr. Nemtsov assured your SEGODNYA correspondent. According to him, regional leaders, who have but once come up against the problem of sharing out budget funds, would "immediately see the extreme danger and ruinous nature of such a road for the whole of Russia." "We on the contrary are interested in creating conditions where representatives of the regional elites could more easily come to terms and establish links between the regions rather than focus on dividing the pie," he said.

Besides, Eduard Rossel's promise to bring together everyone regardless of their "stripes" according to regional interests, in Boris Nemtsov's phrase, "is almost the same as if I would want to make Russian National Unity activists my deputies, or to put representatives of the Communist Party in 'top' positions." For the successful work of the Federation Council it would be much more interesting, according to him, to see which of the senators is "red" and which is "white," and "maybe to give that an organizational form."

Aleksandr Belyayev, chairman of the disbanded St. Petersburg City Soviet, who has also become a member of the upper chamber, believes that most probably there will be no official division in the Federation Council either on a territorial or party basis. He is convinced that "the entire previous behind-the-scenes horse-trading is not going to played out at all on the Federation Council scene."

Interregional associations are being formed even if they are not given official status, and the interests of various regional elites will be composed either outside parliament or in its lobby. Aleksandr Lelyayev thinks that understandings reached in such a "natural way" will only be taken note of in the Federation Council proper.

Yeltsin Address to Federation Council Viewed

PM1201122594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Valeriy Vyzhutovich: "Federation Council. 11 January, 1000 Hours. No Sensation"]

[Text] Despite the tradition which has become rooted in the style of young Russian parliamentarianism, the first sitting of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly began in a calm and organized manner with no sensations.

As planned, the sitting was opened by Boris Yeltsin. While paying ritual rhetorical tribute in the form of congratulations to deputies on their "great personal and political success" and expressing his intention to cooperate with the legislators and conduct consultations with parliamentary faction leaders, the president also identified a number of points of principle in his speech.

First and foremost he noted that most Federation Council members are "experienced political figures who have learned the secrets of power and are capable of distinguishing real politics from petty politicking." This could well have been a passing allusion to the composition of the State Duma, which as yet is frighteningly unpredictable, unlike the Federation Council, which is dominated by the heads of the executive branch in the republics, krais, and oblasts—firm pragmatists who are prepared for dialogue with the Kremlin and, equally importantly, are capable of controlling the situation in their regions. The president thereby made it plain that he sees his parliamentary support primarily in the Federation Council, which has the right of veto over highly important decisions from the lower chamber and is able to bring the Duma legislators to their senses as necessary.

The appeal to "forget revolutionary terminology and jettison relapses into morbid suspicion and political maximalism" had an extremely timely ring and was maybe the first time it had been heard from the president's lips.

Boris Yeltsin also stated that the president's annual message to the Federal Assembly, which is stipulated by the Constitution, will be presented in the very near future after the organizational matters relating to each of the chambers' work have been resolved. The message will propose a program of political and economic transformations for 1992 and the basic guidelines of domestic and foreign policy.

There is one sentence which should probably be regarded as the key fragment in the president's speech: "No matter

who our voters voted for, they were unanimous that the Russian Federation must continue to be an integral state, a solid federation. It is our obligation to fulfill this wish."

The president is indubitably aware that the specter of separatism looming over the Federation has by no means been exorcized by the adoption of the new Constitution. Having received a nationwide mandate to pursue a more autonomous, more independent policy, regional leaders, it goes without saying, will not pass up the chance of making use of it. And the Federal Assembly [as published] hall of sessions will become an arena of struggle to coordinate the interests of the center and the provinces. Giving a foretaste of this struggle, the president recalled the precise constitutional delimitation of the areas of responsibility of the Federation and its components, noting at the same time that "strong regions are a condition of Russia's prosperity."

Then, in accordance with constitutional procedure, Yuriy Chernichenko, the oldest deputy in the upper chamber, took the chair for the first sitting of the Federal Assembly [as published], calling on Kaliningrad Oblast Administration Head Yuriy Matochkin and Sakhalin Governor Yevgeniya Krasnoyarskaya to act as his assistants.

The draft standing orders for the first day of the sitting stipulated the election of the credentials commission, which has already happened, and also the approval of the agenda, which presupposes a most important matter: the election of the Federation Council chairman and his deputies.

In reply to my question about which candidacy for the post of head of the upper chamber seems preferable to him, Bashkortostan President Murtaza Rakhimov noted that he has no personal antipathy toward, say, Vladimir Shumeyko, but in his view the Federal Assembly [as published] should be led by a person with experience of leading a republic, kray, or oblast. Here Murtaza Rakhimov stressed that the Federation Council chairman must be "someone with a Russian surname," from which it can be inferred that, for example, Ramazan Abdulatipov and Eduard Rossel, who figure among the contenders for this post, should not particularly count on being successful.

On the other hand, Krasnodar Kray Administration Head Nikolay Yegorov assessed Vladimir Shumeyko's chances as pretty high ("the whole of the North Caucasus is for him"), while at the same time noting the "anti-Kremlin mood" of a considerable proportion of the Federal Assembly.

The first sitting of the upper chamber of parliament is continuing. After the procedural warm-up, it is likely that 11 January will also see the beginning of substantive debate.

Duma Temporary Speaker Interviewed

PM1201141594 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Gamov: "Zhirinovskiy Advised Lukava To Call Militia"]

[Text] From the first minutes of the Russian State Duma's work the auditorium's attention was focused on a short, skinny man in a civil aviation pilot's uniform who has temporarily, until a speaker is elected, taken the main parliamentary seat—the oldest deputy, 68-year-old Georgiy Lukava.

[Gamov] Georgiy Grigoryevich, are you in the hot seat?

[Lukava] I certainly am....

[Gamov] When you opened the Duma session many people drew attention to your slight Georgian accent...

[Lukava] I am indeed a Georgian by nationality.

[Gamov] Since Stalin not a single Georgian has held such a high post in Russia.

[Lukava] To be frank, I am very calm when it comes to such idle talk.

[Gamov] Georgiy Grigoryevich, forgive me, but it is said in the corridors that Zhirinovskiy specially nominated Lukava, a member of an "alien party," as a deputy on "his own" list.

[Lukava] Certainly not... Although I am in reality a member of the Russian Communist Party I was nominated to the Duma by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia on the grounds that in July last year I took part in that party's scientific and practical conference at which I delivered a report entitled "Spiritual Readiness and Its Role in Overcoming the Crisis." But having found myself in the chair I am trying to be absolutely impartial and I am giving all deputies irrespective of party allegiance the opportunity to speak. [Lukava ends]

Yesterday several deputies suggested that Georgiy Lukava surrender his seat to a more competent deputy. But Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, from a microphone, gave the provisional speaker categorical instructions not to go anywhere, to turn off the microphones, and not to allow anyone onto the platform and if necessary to "call the militia."

Zhirinovskiy To Run for State Duma Speaker

LD1201180494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1753
GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Russian nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who was said to be planning to become the chairman of the Foreign Affairs

Commission of the State Duma is now running for the post of the speaker whom the lower chamber plans to elect Thursday.

He is among eight candidates to the post nominated by seven party factions and independent deputies. The Russia's Choice keeps its candidate in secret so far, Sergey Stankevich, head of the interim secretariat of the Duma, said on Wednesday after a meeting of faction leaders.

Other candidates are—Vladimir Medvedev from Independents, Ivan Rybkin from Agrarians, Sergey Glazyev from the Democratic Party, Alevtina Fedulova from the Women of Russia Bloc, Sergey Shakhrai from the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, Vladimir Lukin from the Yabloko Bloc, and Mikhail Lapshin from Communists.

"Although the Russia's Choice has a candidate it does not name him," Stankevich said.

Withdraws as Candidate

LD1301150694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 1435 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By Ivan Novikov, ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan—This afternoon the State Duma deputies began putting forward candidacies to the post of chairman of the State Duma. Nine candidacies have been put forward—Aleksandr Braginskiy, Yuriy Vlasov, Sergey Shakhrai, Valentin Kovalev, Sergey Kovalev, Vladimir Lukin, Anatoliy Lukyanov, Vladimir Medvedev and Ivan Rybkin.

The Liberal Democratic Party leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, was the 10th, but he has just withdrawn his candidacy, referring to his unwillingness to "act in the role of an overseer."

Factions Issue First Warning to Zhirinovskiy

LD1201155194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520
GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Leaders of all parliamentary factions and groups issued the first warning to nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy on Thursday and threatened to block his representatives from State Duma ruling bodies in case he continues to speak out without an official request to take the floor.

The warning appeared after three factions stormed out of the conference hall where faction leaders were meeting in protest against Zhirinovskiy's demand that he himself should chair the meeting because his Liberal Democratic Party was the first in the parliamentary elections.

He proposed that the next meeting of the leaders can be chaired by the faction, which ended second in the polls, i.e., the Russia's Choice.

Lawmakers opposed and offered a representative of the "Women of Russia" bloc to chair the meeting, but Zhirinovskiy was against it.

The Russia's Choice, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and the Women of Russia left the meeting in protest.

A compromise was reached in their absence that Nikolay Travkin, the leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, which was the last in the elections, would chair the meeting. Zhirinovskiy also agreed with the proposal.

Travkin then convinced the three factions to return to the meeting.

After that representatives of all factions and groups in the State Duma, naturally excluding the Liberal Democratic Party, agreed that in case Zhirinovskiy continues to speak out without officially requesting to take the floor they will jointly block his faction and would not allow his representatives to work in the ruling bodies of the lower chamber.

Twenty Independent MPs Join Shakhray's Faction in Duma

LD1201144394 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1414 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Twenty independent members of the State Duma (lower chamber of the new Russian legislature) have decided to join the centrist parliamentary faction of Sergey Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRES).

All the volunteers represent interests of Russia's new financial and industrial sector, Aleksandr Kotenkov, acting executive committee's chairman of the PRES, told *ITAR-TASS* on Wednesday.

According to him, the PRES faction would enlist about 40 MPs and is due to be registered on Thursday.

Shakhray, Fedulova Cited on Duma Session

PM1201171194 Moscow *ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian* 13 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Report by Robert Minasov and Yevgeniy Skukin: "Lower Chamber Has Taken Time Out"]

[Text] The logical result of the absurd and sometimes—from the viewpoint of the standing orders and parliamentary procedures—illiterate actions of Georgiy Lukava (LDPR) [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], who is chairing the first session of the State Duma was that the lower chamber from the first day of its work took enforced time out. (Incidentally, Georgiy Lukava has

composed a dissertation entitled "Dialectic of the Solution of Conflicts in War Through the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction.")

The outburst of emotions, which continued throughout the 11 January evening session, was caused by the seemingly, not that important, question of the numerical strength of the deputies' groups to be registered. The minor political movements and parties were, naturally, interested in the lowest possible threshold (12-14 deputies), while the larger ones (the LDPR, the Russian Communist Party, the Agrarian Party) wanted to raise the threshold to 50. "Russia's Choice" offered a compromise—20 deputies.

A real fight developed over these figures. The deputies returned repeatedly to vote. And only the figure of 35 received the largest number of votes. Only by having that number of members can a group count on registration.

What is the thrust of the problem? Why did deputies from political parties and movements defend their proposed options so zealously?

We received a reply to this question from Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord.

"There are eight political parties represented in the State Duma. If they had settled on the figure of 50 the largest could have acquired decisive votes in the State Duma Council while the small ones would essentially have been jettisoned or obliged to join some group even if they did not want to."

"Sergey Mikhaylovich, please share your impressions of the first day," we asked our interlocutor.

"They are very sad. From the first minutes of the session the Liberal Democrats, Communists, and Agrarian Party members made what I would call a ferocious attempt to take control of the chamber. After all, the Council of Elders had assigned Georgiy Lukava only the opening of the session and the procedure for the election of the State Duma working organs. The session was then to be led either by the secretariat or by a provisional presidium. You realize that this attempt to impose his will on the chamber split it into two parts. Exactly half of its members were elected to the State Duma from political movements and parties while the other half consists of deputies from single-seat territorial districts. So is it seemly to infringe on the interests of a minority? We suggested compromise versions: Let us say conditionally one deputy from the parties, one from the one-seat districts, and so forth. But without success. The methods used to conduct the session were very reminiscent of the worst times in our former parliament...."

Alas, Sergey Shakhray was far from the only person to assess the first day of the State Duma's work as depressing.

Alevtina Fedulova, leader of the "Women of Russia" faction:

"I should like more political culture, a more economical use of parliamentary time. But on the other hand I do not lose hope that after the necessary familiarization we will manage to make headway in resolving organizational questions and an atmosphere for lawmaking will be created. I am satisfied that we have settled on the 35 option. That is a controllable group or faction, it does not matter what you call it, with which other associations can deal."

With what did the "Women of Russia" come to the State Duma?

[Fedulova] First, we will take part in the work of virtually all committees. For us it is fundamentally important not to concentrate only on questions of women, the family, and children. Also, we shall work most seriously in various directions. We believe we must provide not only for equal rights for women and men but also, most important, for equal opportunities. Nonetheless, we believe the interests of man to be the priority for parliament. We are interested not in a problem in itself but in close connection with the improvement of people's lives. The laws must be socially oriented....

Duma 'Groups' Reach Agreement on Procedural Issues

LD1201175294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] At today's sitting, the leaders of the Duma groups [fraktsii] reached agreement over a number of procedural matters. Members of the Council of Elders, made up of representatives from each of the groups, will chair tomorrow's sitting, an RIA correspondent has learned.

The sitting's agenda includes the question of endorsing the temporary rules of procedure governing the work of the chamber, as well as the election of the Duma chairman and his deputies.

State Duma Deputies Comment on 'Difficult' Proceedings

LD1201230194

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 12 January in its "Novosti" newscast carries a report by television correspondent Sergey Suntsov on the work of the State Duma today. Suntsov briefly interviews deputy Georgiy Lukava. He says the view among deputies is that the present State Duma will find it difficult, if not impossible, to reach agreement.

Deputy Anatoliy Lukyanov makes the following comments on the situation: "This is not a puppet parliament for the authorities, but I am quite convinced it has the potential to understand the situation, and I think it is capable of agreement."

Suntsov goes on to speak briefly about the session of factions and the talk about the formation of deputies'

groups. All are united in the opinion that organizing the work of the Duma is the key issue, Suntsov says. He says the faction heads appear to be intent upon taking charge of this themselves. In an interview with Suntsov, Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, stresses that the leaders or representatives of the factions are taking fundamental political decisions. They are doing the ground work, including drawing up the agenda or questions for discussion. He concludes that only this can make parliament's work predictable.

Suntsov further reports that this evening the first session of the party leaders of the deputies' groups took place. They were to discuss the agenda for tomorrow, he says, and determine the nominations for the post of chairman, deputies, and a number of others. Suntsov comments: "Once again Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was the initiator of a conflict who demanded that he should have the right to take the session as the leader of the major parliamentary faction. Nikolay Travkin issued an ultimatum. If Zhirinovskiy does not change his behavior, the faction will resort to the tactics of completely blocking the Liberal Democratic Party."

Suntsov concludes with an interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party, who states he is convinced a common-sense party will be formed that will vote in favor of professionalism and will listen to the opinions of authoritative persons. Zyuganov concludes that there are very many authoritative, professional deputies in the auditorium to whom people will listen.

Announcer Pavel Ogorodnikov winds up the report with the following comment: "After today's fuss, in the corridors of the State Duma, journalists have given Zhirinovskiy the nickname of the 'incident man who cannot take even 20 steps without declaring war on someone.'"

Duma Factions Hold Consultations, Form Blocs

MK1301102094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1

[Indira Dunayeva, Ivan Rodin report in the "Parliament" column: "Factional Arithmetic in the Duma. PRES (Party of Russian Unity and Accord) Has Consolidated Its Ranks and Russia's Choice Has Not Split"]

[Text] Yesterday, which was declared a break in the work of the State Duma, was in fact fairly strained as partisan and independent deputies were hastily organizing parliamentary factions. Yesterday the PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] faction was joined by a financial and industrial group of independent deputies of approximately 20 people. All in all, as of yesterday the faction numbered some 40 deputies. Interestingly, this is the first coalition created by independent and partisan deputies. Independent deputies, mainly including entrepreneurs and bankers who have joined the PRES, will constitute a section within the framework of this faction and their representative will become part of the faction's leadership. Addressing yesterday's press conference, PRES leader Sergey Shakhrai stated that the faction is

conducting talks with deputies from republics and autonomies. In his opinion, however, the "process of factional growth will not be explosive." Shakhrai said that the faction is nominating his candidacy for the post of chairman of the State Duma. "Wherever I am, I shall be working on regional policy," Sergey Shakhrai stated in concluding his press conference.

Yesterday Liberal Democratic Party deputy Aleksandr Vengerovskiy told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that apart from the party list six people have affiliated with the faction. The faction is headed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, of course, and its cochairmen are Aleksandr Vengerovskiy and Sergey Zhibrovskiy. The Liberal Democrats have the largest number of those wishing to work in the committee on education, science, and culture and also in the committee on organizing the Duma's work. In addition to cochairmen, the Liberal Democratic Party's faction council includes leaders of intrafactional groups (lawyers, economists, youth, and women).

Sergey Baburin yesterday tried to create a deputies group called Russian Way that, however, has not as yet gathered the requisite minimum of 35 members. The group includes Anatoliy Lukyanov, Aleksandr Nevzorov, Vladimir Tikhonov, and Yuriy Vlasov (it was decided to nominate the latter to the post of speaker of the State Duma).

Yesterday the emerging factions of deputies groups were counting their real and hypothetical votes and discussing rumors as to who will be elected chairman of the State Duma, his deputies, committee chairmen and their deputies. Furthermore, they discussed the principle to be used in filling these still vacant posts.

In the lobby of the Duma assembly hall, in cozy leather armchairs the deputies of the emerging Russian Way group held a meeting—Anatoliy Lukyanov, Sergey Baburin, Yuriy Vlasov, Vladimir Tikhonov, Aleksandr Nevzorov, and others. Mr. Lukyanov briefed them on the progress in factional bargaining. Thus, according to some reports, a large coalition is nominating Agrarian Party leader Mikhail Lapshin as speaker and Alevtina Fedulova from Women of Russia and Vladimir Medvedev from the "independents" as his deputies.

Incidentally, the latter are divided into several groups: the above mentioned Russian Way with an ideology of traditionalism, according to Sergey Baburin; and yet another group, fairly close to Russia's Choice, which will possibly be headed by Irina Khakamada, general secretary of the Economic Freedom Party. The creation of this group, however, has been postponed for the time being. On the other hand, the group headed by oil businessman Vladimir Medvedev has attracted deputies from the republics and autonomies led by A. Dzasokhov, and it will apparently try to register today.

As for the reports about a split within Russia's Choice, according to a source within this faction, the bloc's leadership has so far not accepted the idea of splitting

into two groups as a way of removing the internal tension and ensuring freedom of maneuver for itself.

Yesterday at 1600 a meeting began between leaders of the Duma factions. Its agenda was as follows: procedure for conducting sessions prior to the election of speaker; provisions on the temporary rules of procedures; sequence of questions slated for discussion at Duma sessions; and the formation of the leadership of the lower chamber. According to some reports, the election of the entire Duma leadership is to be carried out simultaneously—in a package. The formation of the package will be based on how many conventional points particular factions have gathered. These are calculated on the basis of simple arithmetic: Each post is assigned a certain number of points and then the aggregate number of elected deputies is divided by their sum total, which gives the number of deputy mandates per point (for instance, seven and a half mandates). Next a discussion is held as to what exactly each faction can get for its points. This method, however, is not known in detail yet, although it is already raising objections from those factions that are not among its authors.

The beginning of yesterday's consultations was marked by a scandal when the Liberal Democratic Party leader voiced suspicions with respect to his negotiating partners. It was decided that today the elders will take turns conducting the session and that elections of the speaker will also begin today.

Yavlinskiy Contemplates Prospects for New Duma *BR1201155294 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 12 Jan 94 p 10*

[Interview with Russian Yabloko group leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by Pavel Kozlov in Moscow on 11 January: "Reforms To Launch True Democracy"; first paragraph is L'UNITA introduction]

[Text] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, the 41-year-old economist and leader of the Yabloko (apple) group, has brought 26 deputies to the Duma.

[Kozlov] What do you think of the Duma's first day?

[Yavlinskiy] After 3-4 October there was no alternative but to go to the polls, even with all their faults, of which we were aware from the outset. I think that this Duma will do its job if it acts basically as a constitutional body. It must create items of fundamental importance for Russia, such as the electoral law and the civil code; it must prepare Russia to elect a real parliament, the president, and local governments.

[Kozlov] But, as of today, is it capable of getting on top of this job? We have already seen how the first few hours went by in a state of tumult...

[Yavlinskiy] The Duma today represents a normal parliament in a country riddled with conflict. If you paid a visit to the parliament in, say, South Korea or Taiwan, you would come away with the conviction that, in

comparison, today's session went off perfectly smoothly. If this Duma will keep people from shooting at one another, it will have achieved its goal.

[Kozlov] Is serious conflict likely to emerge between the deputies and the president?

[Yavlinskiy] It is to be hoped that this can be avoided. The Constitution is drafted to confer full powers on the president, so the Duma hardly ever debates issues that impinge on the president's functions. At the same time, however, the president is responsible for what happens in the country.

[Kozlov] How long might this Duma be expected to last?

[Yavlinskiy] It was elected for a fairly short term, two years. I do not know if it will last the full course, but in any case I do not want to make pessimistic forecasts. If you think that dissolution would be followed by a better Duma, I have grave doubts on the subject. Moreover, we have had extremely tranquil parliaments, a prime example of peace and quiet being the Soviet Parliament, where even votes against the regime were cast in a predetermined scenario.

[Kozlov] What would you like your role in the Duma to be?

[Yavlinskiy] I want the Duma to perform tasks that I regard as extremely important. Actually, many things in the situation that we are in invite objections and doubts, and these could be handled in one of two ways. A number of inquiries could be opened into a multitude of events and issues, or the situation could be accepted as it is, bearing in mind that, however you look at it, over the next two years Russia must prepare for free democratic elections of both the president and a new, authentic, parliament.

Communist Leader Zyuganov Views Party's Role in Duma

BR1201155394 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 12 Jan 94 p 10

[Interview with Communist Party Chairman Gennadiy Zyuganov by Pavel Kozlov in Moscow on 11 January: "Everyone Must Seek Allies"; first paragraph is L'UNITA introduction]

[Text] In numerical terms, 49-year-old Gennadiy Zyuganov, with almost 60 deputies from the Communist Party chaired by him, represents the third-largest force in the State Duma after Gaydar's and Zhirinovskiy's.

[Kozlov] Right from the first day, all signs point to a struggle between Gaydar's "Russian Choice" favoring the government and the president, and an intransigent opposition, represented primarily by you and your supporters.

[Zyuganov] As I see it, "Russian Choice" does not seem capable of fully appreciating the results of the 12 December elections. That grouping did not win 60

percent of the votes, it only collected 15 percent, and it does not control the political process. It can block no constitutional decision on its own, so it will have to work with other groups, and it has no internal homogeneity: There are elements that fully appreciate that the bombing of the White House put an end to democracy in Russia, and there are those who are ready to launch the country once and for all along the road to dictatorship. No group is homogeneous, and in a short time we shall see the formation of the classic pattern of left wing, right wing, and center.

[Kozlov] Will this parliament be even more critical of the executive of the disbanded Supreme Soviet?

[Zyuganov] The tone adopted by any parliament depends on what is happening in the streets and the mood of the electorate. The worse the situation in the country, the more critical and rigid will be not only the parliament, but the social, and even governmental, structures as well.

[Kozlov] Do you intend to bring the issue of a revision of the Constitution up in the Duma?

[Zyuganov] Our experts are busy studying the text of the Constitution. In accordance with our election manifesto, we insist that the Constitution be approved by a two-thirds majority, otherwise it will not be the law of consensus but the law of division and deterioration.

[Kozlov] Who is your candidate for the position of speaker?

[Zyuganov] The idea is to appoint the speaker of the Duma from one of the minor parliamentary parties, a widely respected figure but one without extreme ideological beliefs, while each of the larger parties would delegate a deputy speaker and a committee chairman to satisfy the interests of the political forces.

[Kozlov] What is your view of the forthcoming Yeltsin-Clinton summit?

[Zyuganov] It will be an important meeting because it involves a visit by the president of a major power. After the downfall of the USSR, the field of geopolitical forces has shifted in favor of the United States and NATO, so these talks have great significance for Russia, especially in view of the state that we are in.

Duma Expected To Approve Most of Yeltsin's Edicts

MK1201123094 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Report by Dmitriy Kamin: "Federal Assembly Begins Work. A Package of Presidential Edicts Submitted to the Duma for Consideration"]

[Text] The government is ready to use the most constructive elements from programs of the parliament's political factions when adjusting its economic policy. This was

said yesterday by Viktor Chernomyrdin in his opening address to the State Duma. No specific proposals of the factions were mentioned, however. At the same time, the legislators' starting positions with regard to the executive authorities may become clear in the very near future—yesterday the Duma received a package of 64 presidential edicts, the legitimacy of which must be confirmed by the Federal Assembly. Apparently, the parliamentarians' reaction to the president's lawmaking activity in the period of the "phased Constitutional reform" will be the first step in establishing a new relationship between the two branches of power.

At the first Duma meeting, which was devoted to procedural matters, coordinated actions of the communists, agrarians, and members of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia did not allow "Russia's Choice" to push through a decision reducing the minimum number of deputies required for setting up a parliamentary faction. Thus, the "Russia's Choice" plan to increase its clout in parliament by fragmenting the bloc into a number of smaller factions did not materialize, which may give the parliamentary opposition a shot in the arm.

Given this, the results of the State Duma's review of the package of presidential edicts holds particular interest, because the negative influence of the opposition has so far been minimized by a lack of actual mechanisms of appealing against presidential edicts—there is no procedure for ruling them unconstitutional, whereas a direct challenge to the president is dangerous for the Duma's current lineup: Three incidents of disagreement may give grounds for dissolving the chamber. In addition, the presidential edicts may find serious support in the influence of parliamentary lawyers and economists who are presently analyzing the practice of their application, while the opposition has concentrated its efforts on political tussles.

For instance, State Duma Deputy Aleksandr Pochinok (former deputy finance minister, earlier chairman of the Supreme Soviet planning and budget commission) is certain that splitting profit tax revenues between the federal and local budgets and establishing new tax rates for individuals were "progressive steps" taken by the president. On the other hand, the increase in value-added tax, in his view, may elicit disgruntlement, "and the essentially progressive change in the procedure of bank taxation (in which profits, not incomes, are taxed) requires that the practice of its application be analyzed." Nonetheless, Pochinok believes that the bulk of the presidential edicts from the package, including the edict on benefits granted to domestic banks, "need to be approved as quickly as possible," because this will speed up drastic changes in the budget, taxation, and banking sectors, an effort that will require another 60 or so new laws. Among priority steps he also mentioned enactments on audits, on the securities market, and on indexing deposits.

It is worth noting that the president's Commission for Legislative Proposals may just as well accelerate the

passage of presidential edicts through the Duma—a lack of serious expert appraisal structures in the new parliament may render the former's recommendations decisive.

Duma's Hectic 1st Day Seen Confirming Suspicions

МК1201122094 Moscow *SEGODNYA* in Russian
12 Jan 94 p 1

[Sergey Parkhomenko report under the "First Night" rubric]

[Text] The list of organizational matters the Fifth Russian Duma managed to resolve on its first work day boils down to the creation of purely technical commissions, the election of a provisional secretariat (under Sergey Stankevich's chairmanship), and also determining the minimum number of parliamentarians required to set up a new deputy faction.

Only the last of these problems seemed more or less significant, because establishing the lower limit for a deputy group's strength may give "Russia's Choice" extra advantages in the future: It is this faction that has so far managed to win over more deputies elected in majority districts as "independents" than anyone else. With the emergence of a number of groups "Russia's Choice" may see its replicas of sorts appear in parliament—each of them with the rights of a full-blown party faction regarding a guaranteed representation in the State Duma's ruling bodies, the right to be given the floor in discussions, and so forth. A multistage voting procedure finally enabled the Duma to set the minimum number at 35 people.

To make this decision, however, took nearly six hours of painful efforts (including two hours of consultations during the lunch break), when the State Duma posed as an entirely unprecedented farcical show both comical and absurd in nature. This came as no surprise to anyone, though. On the contrary, we should rather say that our preliminary expectations and suspicions were strikingly confirmed: Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] leader Zhirinovskiy was indeed obnoxiously scandalous and the deputy corps' doyen, Georgiy Lukava, who was elected on the LDPR ticket, actually appeared as a barely sane personality.

Sprinkling his speech with thoughtful absurdities, like "developing the potential at the level of a factor" or "bringing addresses within the framework of collaboration," Mr. Lukava easily and quickly brought the Duma to a scandal bordering on collective hysterics with disorderly shouts into the microphone and a threateningly multitudinous babel in front of the presidium (where deputy Shabad was noticed a number of times). In the end, 190 deputies, threatening to refuse to register and to boycott the meeting, demanded that Lukava be relieved of the unbearable burden of chairmanship, because the Constitution calls for the first meeting only "to be opened" by the oldest deputy, not to be steered further.

Mr. Zhirinovskiy, overstraining his voice, guided his subordinate from the audience, and in one moment demanded that "an order be given to switch off all microphones, to call security to protect those on the podium, and to continue the voting without any discussions." Mr. Lukava was willing to hand over his powers only to Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov in person.

In the end, the Duma managed to cut Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his comrades down to size. From now on, meetings will be chaired by members of the Council of Elders. The Duma took a timeout for forming factions until noon, 13 January.

Aleksandr Kotenkov appears to have summed up the results of the first day of deliberations in the best possible way: "This brouhaha is unbearable. It cannot last for long. And it won't..."

Army Paper Reports on Federal Assembly's Opening Day

PM1301125594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[V. Yermolin and A. Pelts report: "Federation Council Elects Speaker. State Duma Ruled by Elders"]

[Text] Yesterday's Federation Council sitting can rightly be called a deciding one. The deputies were electing the chairman of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly.

When discussion of the candidacies started it showed the deputies in the upper chamber so far unable to express their sympathy in favor of one particular contender in a clear-cut way. Their main task, however, was to elect a "silent speaker," that is, one who could take the interests of all the representatives of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly into consideration to the utmost degree and would be able to lead it skillfully along the path of unity and constructive work. As Boris Nemtsov, head of the Nizhnyy Novgorod administration, emphasized in an exclusive interview with a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, it is not mandatory to elect a representative of the regions; the main task is to get work under way with maximum efficiency. Ramazan Abdulatipov also adheres to this opinion. He notably considers it most important to establish a link between the upper chamber of the parliament and the president. In his opinion, Vladimir Shumeyko possesses all the necessary qualities, and, most importantly, experience.

By 1400 the results of the secret ballot became known (it was conducted in booths). None of the contenders had gained the necessary number of votes. Vladimir Shumeyko with 85 votes and Petr Romanov with 56 went through to a second round. Shumeyko was left one vote short of victory.

The first day of the State Duma sitting was marked by two noteworthy episodes, which could be called a test of strength.

As evening was approaching Georgiy Lukava, who was chairing the sitting and who anyway has no experience as a speaker, clearly started to descend into improvisation and reacted to virtually every exclamation from the hall. The simplest questions took 20-30 minutes to discuss. Suffice it to say that, one hour after the beginning of the afternoon sitting, the registration had not yet been done. That is, it had not been established whether there was a quorum in the hall and whether the Duma had the power to adopt any decisions or not.

Then Vladimir Zhirinovskiy came to the microphone, and, in the "Sturm und Drang" style, instructed his party comrade to switch off the microphones, not allow anyone to speak, and remove anyone who disobeyed with the help of the militia. Then the first episode, which could be called a test of strength, occurred: Twice Georgiy Lukava announced the registration, and twice the board lit up the words: "No quorum." Later, Mikhail Poltoranin commented on this episode as follows: "We landed one on Zhirinovskiy." And Zhirinovskiy backed off. Lukava was replaced by his colleague from the Council of Elders. The work of the session continued.

But the second episode—the vote on the question of the size of deputies' groups—showed around 200 deputies gravitating toward the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] stance, while somewhere between 140 and 180 votes supported the Russia's Choice proposals. In the end, the figure named by Gennadiy Zyuganov—35—went through. That is how many deputies must be registered in a deputies' group for it to obtain the same rights as a faction. The votes came out 256 for and 146 against. And although Gennadiy Burbulis does not consider the outcome of the vote a defeat for the democrats (who sought a figure of 12-14), the disposition of votes clearly promises a hard life for them in the State Duma. As for the "nonregistration" ploy, it must be assumed that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy will not always help his opponents to set all and sundry against him with unsubtle tricks. The democrats should not forget that this man knows not only how to "take a punch" but also how to learn lessons from doing so.

On Wednesday, following its turbulent start, the State Duma worked in factions. Deputies' groups were being formed. There will be a joint sitting on Thursday.

Relations Between Yeltsin, Parliament Viewed

LD1201163394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1447 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The kind of relationship, which the Russian president will have with the newly elected parliament, has acquired a truly vital meaning for Russia today. Many people, including the president, if one can judge by his statements, will long remember the tragic end of the former Supreme Soviet, although there deservedly should be no pardon for its

leaders, whose unlimited personal ambitions and insatiable hunger for power almost threw the country into civil war.

In this connection, it is no surprise that people awaited the president's first appearance in front of the new parliament with impatience. This interest was heightened by the president's 8 January reversal of his original decision to hold a joint session of the Federal Assembly's two chambers and to speak only to the deputies of the upper chamber, the Federation Council. This decision was obviously based on the guidelines contained in the new constitution.

Yeltsin stated his position on the proper relationship between the two branches of power fairly clearly. After a reminder of the tremendous efforts required to maintain peace in the country last year, the president stressed that, "it is very important that the members of the Federation Council and the State Duma put the Russian parliament on a constructive path, so that cooperation becomes the most important aspect in relations between the executive and legislative branches."

Undoubtedly, the Federal Assembly is beginning its work in a very difficult period when the Russian state is really just being founded. However, the first popularly approved constitution in Russian history has given the country a realistic chance to form its ruling structures calmly and effectively. One could say that Russia has finally agreed on the rules of the game, which must be observed by all the political forces.

Now Russia needs more than anything else to preserve that spirit of agreement and calmness, which will prevent a dictatorship from ever returning. With this in mind, the president appealed to the deputies to "help the social and political forces agree on the most important thing, to fully and categorically exclude the use of force from the country's political arena."

Of course, the president and the parliamentarians can disagree with each other, argue, and insist on their own opinion, but all political problems can and must be solved in a legal way. "Despite the variety of parties in the parliament, there is a principled basis for their joint constructive work," Yeltsin declared. The same thought was voiced by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who was simultaneously addressing the deputies of the State Duma.

However, the parliament's first day of work, especially in the lower chamber, did not radiate optimism. After spending a lot of time debating procedural questions, the Duma deputies never did get to any important matters. But the alarming thing is that the democratic forces have not yet managed to take control of the situation, while the part of the opposition represented by the Liberal Democratic Party and its ecstatic leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy behaved, to put it mildly, provocatively. It looks like the apprehensions voiced by Presidential Press

spokesman Vladislav Kostikov on the eve of the parliament's debut may be true. He said that "a confrontational spirit might dominate" the Federal Assembly.

Of course, it is too early to draw conclusions. Moreover, the president has enough constitutional powers to prevent opposition forces from using their full strength. No matter how contradictory the 12 December elections were, Russia has to live with the new parliament for two years. The parliamentarians have been provided with all the necessary conditions to earn themselves a worthy place in the country's history. They have the sad experience of their predecessors, the executive branch's good will and readiness to cooperate, and the trust of their electors. Now the ball is in the parliament's court.

Shokhin Would Accept 'Influential' Post in Parliament

PM1201151594 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 2

[Stas Stremidlovskiy report: "Shakhray and Shokhin, Unlike Mankind, Wave a Cheerless Farewell to the Past"]

[Text] Since the appearance of the famous Russian Federation edict on reforming the Russian Government (with a view to contracting it), vice premiers have undoubtedly lived through some worrying days: Who will remain, and who will be wiped out as a class?

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent put this question to two vice premiers who are also State Duma deputies—Sergey Shakhrai, and Aleksandr Shokhin: Will they continue to work in the government, or will they concentrate fully on legislation?

Shakhrai: I have not yet received an offer to join the new government.

Shokhin: I have not yet decided. I am prepared to move into a leading position in parliament. This parliament is terribly cumbersome and complex, and the more people with experience of government work in it, the better. Where can I work? Anywhere, from speaker to committee chairman. Provided it is an influential committee, of course—for instance, the committee for the budget, or international affairs. The latter in particular, because it would be undesirable to see Zhirinovskiy move in there....

'White House' Restoration Work on Schedule

PM1201144194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Khrustov: "'White House' Prepares for New Occupants"]

[Text] Those who have moved houses even once will have been able to satisfy themselves from their own experience of the truth of the saying that one move is equal to two fires. And if you are about to move into a

building where several stories are burnt out, almost all the windows are broken, ceilings and even supporting structures are damaged, and hardly any utilities are operational....

This was precisely the state in which the fine, snow-white administrative complex on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment was found recently, when specialists arrived to carry out a detailed survey of the building and give an in-depth report on the nature and scale of the damage.

It is well-known that on 5 October the president signed an edict on handing over to the Russian Federation Government the administrative complex where parliament worked until recently. He thereby restored historical justice, if you like: The complex on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment, which came to be known as the "White House," was originally occupied by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers (indeed, the building was erected for that purpose).

Experts appeared at the site the following day. The impression of "devastation and desolation"—as Petr Surov, head of the government apparatus construction department and first deputy chairman of the government commission, admitted to me at a recent meeting—was depressing. Even with intensive work, restoring the 20-story building (or, to be more precise, the 24-story building, if you count the two basement floors and the clocktower) to its former working state before September next year seemed unrealistic.

But a tough schedule was set: The stylobate (six floors) to be completed in 1993, and the upper levels, comprising the seventh to 20th stories, to be completed by 15 February 1994. Moreover, the leaders of the government commission were given the necessary powers to engage any construction firms and other organizations in the work to restore the government building; and to conclude contracts with foreign firms.

"We immediately realized that we could not manage with Moscow builders alone (they have their own intensive program)," Petr Surov said. "So we engaged colleagues from a number of Russian cities, as well as foreign specialists. The extremely tight schedule made the supply of materials and equipment a crucial factor: We needed building and finishing materials (granite and marble), elevators, and fire prevention systems. Our foreign partners were able to deal with these matters promptly. In other words, we undertook to complete the work within the deadline by making sure we had all the necessary materials and equipment.

"We received offers from 27 foreign firms. Many of them were pursuing not so much commercial aims as political objectives: They wanted to help us restore the government residence, thereby expressing their solidarity with Viktor Chernomyrdin's cabinet and the current reforms.

"The Turkish firms Gama and Enka were chosen because they have made a good name for themselves in Russia. Enka already built a maternity home and a military hospital with 1,200 beds in Moscow and renovated the Petrovskiy Arcade. Gama agreed to work without any advance payment, using its own money to buy the necessary materials.

"Other firms were also engaged, mainly those that supplied equipment when the complex on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment was originally built. Take the elevators, for example. We had to replace 19 out of 49. This was done by Otis (a U.S. firm). The shuttle-mail system is being restored by Ascom, the Austrian company, which originally installed it. Hanwell (a U.S. firm) is renewing the fire-prevention systems. There was no hard currency available, but within 24 hours they had flown everything necessary to Moscow and started work. The commercial equipment for the dining room and snack bars (they are up and running, incidentally, and catering for the construction workers) was supplied by an Italian firm, which started work even before signing the contract and sent all the necessary equipment within one month.

"First of all, we had to bring the building 'back to life,' make it 'airtight' (virtually every window was broken), and get the utilities operational, that is, provide water, heating, and a working sewerage system. As many as 5,000 people were engaged in the restoration work virtually from day one.

"Then we had to eliminate the consequences of the fire and destruction. Many dividing walls had collapsed, some ferroconcrete floors were sagging, and some beams had to be reinforced. Obviously, all the debris and rubbish had to be quickly cleared from every story.

"This was not easy. The building is approximately 100 meters high and the freight and passenger elevators are the only form of transport, but they were not working (the electric wires were burnt through). However, together with their colleagues from Otis, Russian specialists had all the elevators working within four days. Using an efficient hourly system (each story in turn), the construction debris was removed and carefully packed into sacks. As many as 100 trucks of rubbish left the government building, covered in scaffolding, each day.

"People worked flat out, making the deadline—which had recently seemed unattainable—a real possibility. People from Yekaterinburg, Orenburg, Tolyatti, Omsk, Tomsk, Rostov, and other cities worked around the clock, showing that we can work.

"Of course, all the necessary conditions were created for the construction workers: Everyone was accommodated close by, at the Ukraina Hotel, free meals were organized, and their wages reflected the work done.

"The 'treatment' of the facade has proved very difficult: It was quite literally decimated by the shelling. The

process of polishing the lower six stories is now complete: Only the upper levels remain. But there the situation is worse: 1,200 square meters of marble slabs have to be replaced. This is being done by Gama (our specialists refused, suggesting that we wait for warmer weather).

"The tower clock has been repaired (the hands were riddled with bullets): It started working again on 30 December. One firm (Russian) asked for 600 million rubles to repair the clock. But local specialists did everything—quickly and much more cheaply.

"A total of 10 stories are now complete. Furniture is being arranged, communications systems are being switched on, and the first 'new arrivals' are expected. Our department is already here, incidentally," Petr Surov said.

"All the various chambers are ready: the awards chamber, the reception rooms, the Gold Chamber, the Blue Chamber, the government sessions hall, and the leaders' office suites. Construction workers are also ahead of schedule in the upper levels. The seventh story (including the reequipped dining room) and the eighth to 12th stories are complete. Plus the technical operations story (the 20th), which is responsible for the heat and water supply and all other utilities.

"All work will be finished by 15 February as planned. Not only restoration, but also modernization. It is intended to develop the communications systems in the future. The question of protecting the government building along the lines of the President Hotel, for example, is being discussed. It is planned to do this in the summer."

Petr Sergeyevich and I walked through the restored building. It is now white again. The tinted windows and reinforced window frames have somewhat changed its appearance and made the building more beautiful than before. The interior decoration is also of the highest quality.

All rooms in the stylobate (the first to sixth stories), and also the eighth to 12th stories of the central upper tower passed inspection by a working subcommission on New Year's Eve. (For your information: The state commission will sign a certificate of approval on completion of the complex).

Your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent has been informed that the Russian Federation Government headed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will move to its new address in the near future.

Happy house warming!

Regional Affairs

Military Cooperation Agreement With Chechnya Prepared

LD1201132994 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] A draft cooperation agreement is being prepared between the military departments of the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic.

Journalists have been told by Colonel Musa Mirzhoyev, a spokesman for the president of Chechnya at the headquarters of the Chechnya armed forces, that the draft agreement envisages preserving the single defense space. According to this document, the Russian side has to provide Chechnya's troops with weapons, not to use its army against the Chechen Republic, train Chechen military experts and provide assistance in the maintenance of military equipment. If necessary, the Chechen side is obliged to give the Russian forces the use of their airfields, to take part in joint military manoeuvres and exercises and not to join any bloc opposing the Russian Federation.

North Ossetian Official Views Federation Council

LD1201192294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 12 Jan—"The Federation Council, consisting mainly of the leaders of executive organs of power in Russia's republics, krais, and oblasts, must learn from the sad experience of the working of the former Russian Congress of People's Deputies and prevent confrontation with the president's staff and the government," an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today by Akhsarbek Galazov, head of the Republic of North Ossetia, on his return from the first sitting in Moscow of Russia's new parliament.

Galazov thinks that the Federation Council will accomplish its historic role if it resolves the artificially created problems associated with the confrontation of the regions. "It is the republics that form the basis for Russian federalism and reducing them to the level of the other components of Russia may lead to an intensification of separatist sentiment and the disintegration of the Russian Federation," the head of North Ossetia declared.

Presidential Race in North Ossetia Viewed

MK1201130094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 2, 9-16 Jan 94 (signed to press 11 Jan) p A10

[Sergey Snopkov report under the "North Ossetia" rubric: "Dzasokhov's Initiative"]

[Text] The elections for president of North Ossetia will take place on 16 January. The election race has shown that the voters' preferences will depend on how convincing a presidential candidate's plan is on the two main problems: the conflict with Ingushetia and a political status for South Ossetia acceptable for the northerners.

There are six presidential candidates in the race today. They are Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia; Prime Minister Sergey Khetagurov; Taymuraz Batagov, the deputy internal affairs minister; Ilya Bekmurazov, chief of the republic's tax inspectorate; Mukharbek Kisiyev, chairman of the Pension Fund; and Georgiy Kodzayev, rector of the Highlands Agricultural Academy. Akhsarbek Galazov and Sergey Khetagurov stand better chances. True, Galazov's rating dropped somewhat in the wake of Boris Yeltsin's visit to the Northern Caucasus. He is being accused of a compromise approach to the Ingush-Ossetia problem. Galazov's opponents try to blame him for President Yeltsin's edict, which rescinded the local parliament's decision on the impossibility of Ossetians and Ingushi living together and caused an explosion of dissatisfaction in Ossetia. At the same time, Akhsarbek Galazov secured 138,000 votes in the elections for the Federal Assembly. This is an impressive showing if one considers that the elections were taking place right on the heels of Boris Yeltsin's visit to the Northern Caucasus.

The other contender—Sergey Khetagurov—also has high chances to win. He is a new-wave politician, a pragmatist. He is supported by local economic managers, directors, and entrepreneurs. Even the economic troubles worsened by the conflict with Ingushetia and the republic's active part in the South Ossetian problem have far from dismayed the North Ossetia premier. On the contrary, they have only made his authority stronger. One piece of evidence is an unofficial dialogue with Chechnya President Dzhokhar Dudayev, held on Khetagurov's initiative. The result: After these negotiations Groznyy has repeatedly confirmed its noninterference in the Ingush-Ossetia conflict. The North Ossetia prime minister's positions became even stronger after Boris Yeltsin's visit to the state of emergency zone. Sergey Khetagurov spoke sharply against Moscow's stance. He thinks that as an arbiter the Kremlin gambles on force whereas one should give a possibility and time for Ossetians and Ingush themselves to agree. The fact that Khetagurov swims against the stream, never fearing for his career, secures him additional votes.

Aleksandr Dzasokhov, former CPSU Central Committee secretary, was seen as the third main candidate for presidency of the republic. However, the "Styr Nykhas" public organization asked Dzasokhov to pull out of the election marathon. He complied, announcing that a radical change of leaders threatens the republic with tipping the fragile political balance. Another argument given by "Styr Nykhas" is that the victory for Dzasokhov, for example, may cause a repetition of the Chechnya variant. A power struggle against the backdrop

of the South Ossetia problem and the dispute over Prigorodnyy Rayon may split North Ossetia.

Evidently only Sergey Khetagurov is trying to outdistance Akhsarbek Galazov. According to unofficial information, one of the four remaining candidates, or all of them, might do on the last day before the elections what Dzasokhov did.

North Ossetia, Ingushetia Situation 'Complex'

PM1201164194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Major Vladimir Gilyuk and Sergey Prokopenko report: "State of Emergency Zone: Law-Enforcement Agencies and Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs Servicemen Have Their Work Cut Out"]

[Text] In spite of the peacemaking efforts of the Russian Federation Government, a Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] forces command group, and the temporary administration, the situation in the state of emergency zone on the territory of the Republics of North Ossetia and Ingushetia is still fairly complex.

In the opinion of several experts it will still take much time for the conflict to be finally settled; after all, it is not for nothing that people say that it is enough for there to be a single shot for a war to last 100 years.

But nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties, a Russian Federation MVD operational inquiry group investigation team is working fairly fruitfully. It is taking measures to search out criminals, people who have disappeared without trace during the conflict, to establish the identity of unidentified corpses, free hostages, and establish the possible sites where dead citizens have been buried. In the space of only one month the group has established the fate of 25 citizens who disappeared without trace, operations to detain particularly dangerous criminals have been mounted, and possible locations where hostages are being held and dead citizens are buried have been checked. For example, acting on fresh information, the investigation team led by Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia Petr Baranov discovered two illegal burial sites containing 11 corpses in the region of the settlement of Oktyabrskiy. They were all identified and handed over to the relatives of the deceased.

Staffers of State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration subunits have also had their work cut out in the state of emergency zone. Suffice it to say that they have examined more than 10,000 motor vehicles at checkpoints, and have checked serial numbers on the units and assemblies of more than 3,000 vehicles against the Russian MVD Information Center data base. Some 43 vehicles have been impounded, mostly of foreign production, which were being sought.

While checking and examining motor vehicles, 46 rifles, two live grenades, as well as 17 cold-steel weapons were discovered and confiscated.

In order to step up preventative and preemptive work in the fight against hijacking, a raid was carried out on the territory of the Republic of Ingushetia 6 January. In the space of six hours, eight vehicles were impounded, which were being sought. Upon examining them, various firearms and cold steel weapons were discovered and confiscated.

North Ossetian Premier Urges Reconciliation

PM1301103594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of North Ossetia, by Lyudmila Beldyugina; place and date not given: "Patience and Time Will Heal the Wounds"]

[Text] In the Russian Federation today there is no region more complex or potentially explosive than that of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict and the zone where the state of emergency is in force.

Whether the situation will subside or tend to intensify will depend to a considerable extent on the leaders of the national republic and its old and new politicians, those who are in the structures of administration today and those who will replace them after the elections to the local organs of power: A presidential election is due on 16 January, parliamentary elections 27 March.

Our correspondent's interlocutor is Sergey Valentinovich Khetagurov, chairman of the Republic of North Ossetia Council of Ministers and a deputy to the Federation Council.

[Beldyugina] About the elections. You are taking part in the election race, but at the same time it is well-known that you are an opponent of the very institution of presidency in the republic. How do you reconcile these two facts?

[Khetagurov] I cannot imagine a more inappropriate occupation for an anxious republic preoccupied with quite different concerns and problems than yet another political campaign accompanied by the fueling of public passions, struggles among different teams and groups, scandals, intrigues...

In short, all this tends to split a society, which more than ever before needs consolidation, a pooling of efforts to stabilize the situation in the state of emergency zone and give help to refugees and those who have suffered during the conflict, and the restoration of a national economy badly damaged by the war with our neighbors.

For example, 28 people have contested three Federal Assembly seats! Eight candidates are now running for the presidency. I do not think that any of the contenders for the presidency is entirely suited to the role, and that includes myself. But in the republic's present government and in my team there are many people who are

simply irreplaceable today. However, my defeat will mean the inevitable resignation of the whole team.

Under the Republic of North Ossetia Constitution the president is both head of the republic and chief executive. There is no equivalent in any fundamental law.

[Beldyugina] I attended one of your election meetings with the voters in the village of Olginskoye. For the most part people were interested not in politics but in social problems—the bad roads, communications, the lack of heat in people's homes, and other problems.

[Khetagurov] That is the point. For the government the social sphere is indeed the priority. The appalling psychological tension can be defused by improving the population's well-being and by combating unemployment and poverty. Not only have we prevented the social sphere from disintegrating but we have even made some real progress. North Ossetia today has one of the highest per capita incomes. In the North Caucasus at least we are in first place in that regard. The slump in production in the republic has been halted and overall production volumes are increasing.

[Beldyugina] Nevertheless, the tension in the state of emergency region is high and could erupt. People seem to be expecting the worst. The intention to return Ingush refugees to four settlements in Prigorodnyy Rayon has caused a storm of protests from the population. You also consider this step hasty. Why?

[Khetagurov] Because you cannot reconcile by force people who yesterday were enemies and who lost their near ones in bloody battle. How can you make people live together when their predominant feeling today is one of fear?

[Beldyugina] What is your relationship like with the leadership of the interim administration of Ingushetia?

[Khetagurov] It is a normal, businesslike relationship. We seek a path of mutual understanding and cooperation in the solution of any question. The main thing is to avoid a head-on confrontation and harm caused by intolerance or harsh and ill-considered actions. But the military presence in the region must be reduced. For three years the republic has been living in a state of emergency. This is too long and has traumatized people's psyche.

[Beldyugina] In that case who will ensure their security?

[Khetagurov] There are teams of internal troops and a border regiment quartered in North Ossetia—these forces are sufficient to maintain law and order in the republic.

[Beldyugina] Nevertheless, people must return to their homes. Especially those who were not caught up in the bloody events of 1992. After all, the situation cannot be maintained. Perhaps you know of another way out?

[Khetagurov] I am convinced that events cannot be forced. This is a question of the security not just of the Ossetian population but also of the Ingush. Furthermore, there is the problem of preserving an already too fragile peace throughout the North Caucasus and in southern Russia. Time is the best healer. It is necessary to use popular diplomacy, the laws, traditions, and the custom of reconciliation typical of the mountain people. People must become reconciled with one another—neighbor with neighbor. Conciliation commissions have been created in all our population centers.

Sverdlovsk's Rossel on Upper Chamber's Tasks

PM1201142594 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Eduard Ergartovich Rossel by Lyubov Tsukanova; place and date not given: "Good Laws Are Our Field, Deputy Eduard Rossel Believes"]

[Text] [Tsukanova] The removal of a "good" governor came as a surprise to many people. What about you?

[Rossel] We foresaw this turn of events. Although, in campaigning for a real regional policy, we acted strictly within the framework of the then-Constitution and were aware that this would meet with opposition from certain people and political structures at the center. What is the result? A quite successful Oblast Soviet was dissolved. The population was disappointed. And this disappointment resulted in just 49 percent of the oblast's inhabitants turning up at polling stations in December.

[Tsukanova] How do you explain the president's decision?

[Rossel] I think that the president has not hitherto been given any logical and complete information about our initiatives and actions. We have even encountered a situation where officials who came along to investigate acted in accordance with the well-known principle: "We have not read your constitution, but we condemn it." But, to be serious, I am convinced that there are people who were very interested in capturing Sverdlovsk Oblast from the president. And they attained their objective....

[Tsukanova] Why did you decide to stand for the Federation Council?

[Rossel] I supported the idea that leaders of the executive should not be part of the legislature. We have already endured that situation and nothing good came of it. And, after I was removed, I decided to take part in the elections in order to bring the idea of regional autonomy to its conclusion via the Federation Council. It is not only a matter of our oblast, it is a question of all 68 Russian oblasts, which still have even fewer rights than the republics. That must not be, just as there should not be loved and unloved children in a family.

[Tsukanova] For various reasons public opinion is now more occupied with the situation in the State Duma. The

Federation Council is somewhat in the background. How do you see the work of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly?

[Rossel] The Federation Council is not politicized and that really counterbalances the Duma. It includes people from the localities who are not so much skilled speakers as responsible for the fate of the regions. People confronted with the territories' specific problems. They come face to face with all manner of obstacles and lack of laws, making it impossible to organize normal activity. I think that the Federation Council will have a sobering effect on the Duma deputies if the laws they formulate are adopted to suit the short-term political situation or if they fail to take regional interests into consideration.

The Federation Council's standing orders and the organization of its apparatus are important (the apparatus does not now make provision for a structure tackling regional policy), what we need is a scheme for cooperating with the Duma, the president, and the government. All this has to be worked out. Standing orders should envisage total autonomy for the Federation Council. I am opposed to the Federation Council forming a bloc with the Duma, the government, etc.

I think that everything that the Supreme Soviet did must be analyzed as a matter of urgency and the priorities determined—which draft laws should be tackled first. The question of the Constitution, adopted in breach of the existing law on the referendum, will inevitably come up. It will either be necessary to adopt amendments to the law or seek another solution to the situation. Other matters of urgency include the laws on the fight against crime and precisely targeted social security for the population. These are laws necessary to ensure tranquillity in the country and stability in the state.

[Tsukanova] You mentioned the autonomy of the Federation Council. However, many State Duma deputies think differently; they want to cooperate as actively as possible with their colleagues in the Federation Council or seek a common field of activity. In particular, as far as regional interests are concerned. Especially since a considerable proportion of Duma deputies have been elected by the territories. Do you intend, say, to cooperate with your Duma colleagues who were elected by Sverdlovsk Oblast?

[Rossel] I don't see any difficulties or conflict in doing this. Not only do I intend to do so, but we have already begun to cooperate: We have founded the Ural deputies' assembly and intend to register it with the Ministry of Justice. This assembly is to comprise both Federation Council and State Duma deputies. We will have our parliamentary center equipped with its own computer system: Given that each deputy may have one or two assistants, we will select specialists. And the entire Ural region will know that that it can submit proposals and plans in need of legislative confirmation. This will be a center for public discussion of the draft laws being prepared by the parliament, a feedback mechanism. This

kind of work is far more effective than hovering around microphones. There is sufficient intellectual potential in the Urals to provide legislators with effective aid.

[Tsukanova] Moscow is always—particularly now—accused of focusing on elitist political problems and showing little interest in provincial life. What is life like now for the “rest” of Russia? What does it expect from deputies first and foremost?

[Rossel] I would say that in terms of its political behavior Moscow has itself become a province. In terms of their view of economic reform and reform of the political authority the regions are now ahead. Not to mention their understanding of the crux of regional policy. There are simply not the people in Moscow to tackle this. Incidentally, Boris Yeltsin said this at an enlarged session of the Council of Ministers in November. There is nothing surprising in components of the Federation trying to change their status—that is the result of government omissions in the regional sphere.

What is life like for the provinces? As a candidate deputy I met a lot of people. The number-one question was social security. The weakest people—and there are plenty of them in our country—must not feel abandoned. Question number-two is how are we going to escape from the economic crisis. I am certain that we initially adopted the wrong way of reforming the economy. We took the political rather than the economic road, across the board. But I also know that we cannot interfere now and make any drastic changes. The worst thing would be for us to now start sharply twitching to the left, right, and backwards. Because we have taken this route, we must see it through to the end. Privatization cannot be halted. The efforts to stabilize the ruble must continue. The economy must be demonopolized and small and middling business developed. The steps now being taken to do this are patently inadequate. As for stabilizing decisions, I repeat, the first thing is to provide precisely targeted social security and then invest in individual capital construction, i.e., in housing. This must be done immediately. We must undoubtedly think over the state program for food safety. And the state security program as a whole: It is necessary to have it out with the Army and all the relevant structures.

[Tsukanova] Do you think that society can count on the parliament's working fruitfully? If you had a chance to appeal to your deputy colleagues, what would you say to them?

[Rossel] I would urge them to abandon politics and tackle the real problems facing society today. I would urge that there be no confrontations. We now have a legislative vacuum. We must tackle in earnest laws that would make it possible to advance economic and political reforms. It is this legislative work that will bear real fruit. [Rossel ends]

Our Information: The Oblast Soviet was disbanded 10 November 1993 by edict of President Yeltsin shortly after the Oblast Soviet adopted the constitution of the

Ural Republic, the constitution was revoked, and the governor of the nonexistent republic—officially head of the Sverdlovsk Oblast administration—Eduard Rossel, removed from his post. A routine planning session of the economic association of the Ural region that met the following day elected Rossel its president. He was previously the voluntary head of the association. And on 12 December, 61 percent of the oblast's population who turned out to vote elected the former head of the administration as their representative to the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly—the Federation Council.

Orel Oblast Soviet Abolished; Duma To Be Elected

PM1201152994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Nikolay Kireyev report from the “Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow” roundup: “Oblast Duma To Replace Soviet”]

[Text] An Oblast Duma will take the place of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies in Smolensk.

Administration Chief Anatoliy Glushenkov signed a decree on the representative (legislative) organ of state power, and provisional statutes on the Duma and the election of deputies have been ratified.

At its sitting the Orel Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies session examined the questions of reforming the representative organs of power and local self-government.

Statutes were ratified concerning the Oblast Duma, local self-government for the transitional period, and elections to these organs of power. They are scheduled for 20 March 1994.

Omsk Governor To Head Influential ‘Siberian Agreement’

MK1201131094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report under the “Territories” rubric: “‘Siberian Agreement’ To Be Headed by Omsk Governor. Creation of ‘Siberian Faction’ in Parliament Postponed, But Apparently Not for Long”]

[Text] Chiefs have changed in “Siberian Agreement.” From now on the association's council will be headed by Leonid Polezhayev, chief of the Omsk Oblast administration, not Vitaliy Mukha, who was fired by Boris Yeltsin from the post of Novosibirsk governor for disloyalty.

Mr. Polezhayev promised that under him the association will continue to work “for the benefit of Siberia and all of Russia,” but at the same time “new opportunities” that opened up after the elections would be used. The official creation of a “Siberian faction,” however, has so far been postponed: Too many disgruntled members

turned up on 10 January for the association's council meeting. According to Vladimir Shumeyko, he "would like supraparty deputy groups to operate at the Duma, while at the upper chamber there should be no factions at all." Newly elected Duma members from Siberia, having realized that even deputy seats will not save them from their local bosses' control, on the contrary advised that "such a group should be set up precisely at the Federation Council" and that independent Duma deputies should be left alone.

Nonetheless, "Siberian Agreement" is seriously intent on setting up a "Siberian cohort" that would operate in both chambers of the Federal Assembly and is even ready to assume all expenses of this deputy group's staff.

It seems that this lobby will be formed at an accelerated pace precisely at this stage until next year's budget is drawn up. "We are as yet unable to get anything either from this Fedorov or from this Central Bank," Buryatian Prime Minister Vladimir Saganov exclaimed. Currently, the association is summarizing all demands voiced by Siberian regions so as to present them to the government, and what all of them want is to resolve the nonpayments crisis while avoiding bankruptcies of enterprises.

Aleksandr Shokhin, who attended the council meeting, confided that "taking the regions' demands into account in the budget will be a difficult task." Nonetheless, the place of "the regions' advocate" on Staraya Ploshchad has never been empty, and Vladimir Shumeyko is apparently going to replace the outgoing Sergey Shakhrai in this capacity. At any rate, it was he who suggested on Monday that "Siberian Agreement" determine "an amount required for priority Siberian programs—and we will back it at a government meeting."

Apparently, it is precisely Leonid Polezhayev's push-through qualities that landed him in the seat of the head of an association of raw material and military-industrial regions, although his purely agrarian Omsk Oblast has no bearing either on raw materials or the military-industrial sector. Even Vladimir Zhirinovskiy indirectly confirmed his reputation of a "strong manager" by announcing recently his intention to nominate Mr. Polezhayev to the government from his party. The Omsk governor himself, however, told your SEGODNYA correspondent that he was hearing about this for the first time and did not have any connections with the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader.

International Affairs

Party Leaders, Officials Preview Clinton's Visit

LDPU Leader: Talks 'Diplomatic Success'

LD1201121894 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0848 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—Volodymyr Klymchuk, the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine [LDPU], assesses a Ukrainian-Russian-American meeting in Moscow to be a Ukrainian diplomatic success. Talking with a UNIAN correspondent, he pointed out that future negotiations testified to the fact that Ukraine was recognized as a partner possessing equal rights. The fact that negotiations were being held, in Volodymyr Klymchuk's view, means that the United States and Russia agree to make concessions, and it is quite possible that a decision will be made that will be favorable for Ukraine. "Anyway, political trading is better than war," the LDPU chairman said.

MP Welcomes Kravchuk-Clinton Meeting

LD1201132194 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0848 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—Asked by a UNIAN correspondent on 11 January to comment on the expected meeting between the Ukrainian, Russian, and U.S. Presidents, Oles Shevchenko, the deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party and people's deputy of Ukraine said: "He who finds opportunities for talks and meetings in any situation is a wise politician." Shevchenko added that he welcomed Leonid Kravchuk's decision to meet William Clinton in Kiev and take part in negotiations in Moscow. "I hope that decisions taken by the Ukrainian Parliament—and that on the ratification of the START I Treaty in particular—will be complied with in possible agreements," he noted.

Prospects for Signing Agreement Viewed

WS1201130994 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by Yuliya Mostovay: "Leonid Kravchuk's Meeting With Bill Clinton Is Likely To Be Held in Kiev Tomorrow"]

[Text] Bill Clinton will pay an official visit to Moscow between 12-15 January to meet Boris Yeltsin and try to determine what Russian power is like following the elections and the adoption of the new Constitution. These days, as a reward for exemplary behavior with regard to nuclear arms, the U.S. President will also visit Belarus. One can only guess why Ukraine was not included on the list of states to be visited by Clinton during his European tour. When and where Kravchuk and Clinton will meet is still unclear (as is unclear whether they will meet at all). There are many urgent issues demanding immediate resolution, the fate of Ukrainian nuclear arms being the most pressing one.

Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov, who led the Ukrainian delegation at tripartite Ukrainian-Russian-U.S. talks, returned from the United States on 10 January. He said that the text of a tripartite agreement should have been drafted as a result of intensive negotiations, stipulating a formula for eliminating strategic missiles deployed on Ukrainian territory. The same agreement should have resolved the issue of security guarantees for Ukraine and of compensation for the nuclear arms to be eliminated.

However, according to CNN, U.S. Vice President Albert Gore stated in Washington on 10 January: "There is no such agreement. For a long time we have been trying to reach this kind of agreement with Russia and Ukraine. Right now, active work is under way, but the agreement has not been drafted, and there is no concrete plan for its signing."

The point is that a compromise has been achieved on some issues of contention, while other, quite serious ones, remain unresolved. There is no assurance that the text of the agreement will be ready by 12 January as a result of quick diplomatic work.

In this case, the question arises regarding the expediency of Leonid Kravchuk's visit to Moscow. Massandra has demonstrated that the Ukrainian president is not very good at playing it by ear. Thus, it may not be the best solution to sign a vitally important document not having coordinated all its aspects. Neither is it advisable to fill in the gaps in the document under pressure from the two other presidents. Even if the text of the agreement drafted by experts is ready, is it really necessary to sign it in Moscow? In world practice, such documents are signed on neutral territories following bilateral meetings of all signatories.

Thus, it is quite possible that if the final draft is not ready Bill Clinton will still find a couple of hours to meet Kravchuk in Kiev on 12 January. The more so that aside from nuclear issues the two presidents have things to talk about. Work on preparing the basic document for bilateral relations, the Ukrainian-U.S. Charter, is nearing completion. There are issues of economic cooperation, European and global security, and developing the ideas of "Partnership for Peace" to discuss.

This variant does not rule out the possibility of resolving still unresolved issues. In this case, the signing of the tripartite agreement is possible both during President Clinton's visit to Moscow and in a neutral state in the immediate future. It may take a couple of hours to make the decision, and a couple of minutes to change the schedule of President Clinton's visit. However, taking into account the importance of possible consequences, it would be very undesirable to have Ukraine sign the agreement under pressure or under time constraints. This would be too high a price that Ukraine would pay for the triumph of Bill Clinton's CIS policies. After the fiasco of the latter's foreign strategy in Somalia and former Yugoslavia, this triumph might come in handy.

Chornovil on 'Hope' for Rejection of Agreement

PM1201125594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Report by Mariya Starozhitskaya of UNIAN under general heading: "Russia Pleased With NATO's Decision, Ukraine Pleased With Clinton's Arrival, East Europe Disappointed"]

[Text] Kiev—The accord on a meeting in Kiev with U.S. President Bill Clinton 12 January and on a Ukrainian-Russian-U.S. meeting in Moscow 14 January was a 60th birthday gift for President Leonid Kravchuk.

Citing THE SUNDAY TIMES, Ukrainian television reported a U.S. Christmas present—\$12 billion in compensation for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the republic's territory.

With this turn of events—the sums offered previously did not exceed \$500 million—Ukrainian politicians of both the right wing and the left wing have, on the whole, approved of the prospect of signing the agreement. "A document on such a level could play an important role in stabilizing public opinion, but the interests of the three sides will hardly coincide in the details," A. Moroz, head of the Socialist Party of Ukraine, believes.

Given such compensation, according to V. Filenko, leader of the democratic opposition, the Ukrainian Supreme Council should not have any complaints against the treaty. "Finances sober up politics," he said. "Economically, we cannot now afford nuclear weapons, and the hryvnya needs a stabilization fund, which can no longer be gotten anywhere." According to some data, there was talk in Washington of a considerably smaller sum, and the agreement of Congress is still needed to issue it. In the opinion of V. Chornovil, leader of the Ukraine People's Movement, President Kravchuk does not have powers to sign international documents on nuclear disarmament. "After the act of full and unconditional disarmament Ukraine would be thrust into the backwoods of the world community, and interest in it would be lost forever," he said. "There is hope, however, that parliament—the future agreement is subject to compulsory ratification by it—will not give its consent to this."

Kiev regards the change in the original plan of Bill Clinton's European tour as almost the most significant victory for Ukrainian diplomacy over the past year.

Kravchuk, Clinton Discuss Wide Range of Issues

Spokesman: Time for 'Expanded' Dialogue

WS1201154594 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 1505 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] During the meeting between Ukrainian President Kravchuk and U.S. President Bill Clinton, a wide range of issues concerning bilateral Ukrainian-U.S. relations will be discussed. This was stated by Viktor Stelmakh,

head of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers' and presidential press service on 12 January in an interview with the NOVYNY Television and Radio Agency. He pointed out: It is not difficult to predict that both issues of bilateral economic relations and nuclear problems will prevail at the meeting. As has been underlined by the U.S. and Ukrainian sides, it is time the dialogue was expanded and not reduced to problems of nuclear disarmament. Attention should be paid to economic cooperation and bilateral ties. Viktor Stelmakh emphasized that given the importance of issues to be discussed on 12 January by Presidents Kravchuk and Clinton, the Ukrainian-U.S. summit will be of great importance for building mutual understanding between the two states and for the entire world community.

Nuclear Issue 'Most Important'

LD1201235794 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Opening remarks by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk at joint news conference with U.S. President Bill Clinton from the Borispol airport near Kiev—live]

[Text] [Kravchuk] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: I am glad to welcome the President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, and the persons accompanying him in Ukraine. Of course, I am sorry that this visit is brief, however, I hope that the U.S. President will visit Ukraine on a full-scale basis, appropriately, and we shall be able to show him Ukraine as it is. I invite you, Mr. President, to visit Ukraine whenever this is most convenient for you. This was a short visit which had lasted only several hours but, in my opinion, it was worth several-day long negotiations because those problems which we discussed and what has just been mentioned by Mr. President are really worth the world's interest in what we agreed on and in the documents which we are to sign in Moscow.

I believe that the most important issue for Ukraine, for Europe, and for the entire world is the nuclear issue. We have approached its solution in concrete terms. I am convinced that this day and the coming days open the way before the world for disarmament and nuclear armaments elimination. Ukraine will fulfill its obligations, Ukraine will not be in the way of nuclear disarmament.

Naturally, the major part of our consultations was devoted to discussing various aspects of Ukrainian-American relations. I am pleased to note that the American side, the U.S. President, support our state's sovereignty and independence in the difficult time of our formation as a nation. I believe that such assistance is a specific form of partnership for the sake of developing democracy in Ukraine, for the sake of democratic processes on the territory of the former Soviet Union. I am convinced that the charter of partnership, friendship, and cooperation whose text is being worked up by our experts and is near completion, will become a very

important stage in the development of our mutual relations. Very important for us is the understanding on the part of U.S. President of the problems facing the economy and the problems of the economic reform and support of the economic reform in Ukraine. I am satisfied with the fact that the U.S. President will support our state at the international financial structures, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

We are aware of the fact that resoluteness and responsibility for the implementation of the economic reform are required, and we are ready for this. We are also satisfied with the fact that trade relations between our countries are developing today and that new prospects for their development will open up.

We support the U.S. initiative concerning its formula called Partnership for Peace. We believe that this is a universal formula involving all states and providing them with an opportunity to participate. We understand that this program cannot solve all the security problems, but it provides an opportunity for all the states to take an active part in the program.

I would like to welcome, once again, the President of the United States of America to Ukraine and express satisfaction with the fact that we reached relevant understanding and common points of view on all the issues which we discussed. Although brief, today's meeting was very important and productive. It opened up a qualitatively new page in Ukrainian-American relations which from now on, I am sure, will have a stable and reliable future.

I thank everybody for their attention.

Kravchuk on Intention To Sign Agreement

LD1201221994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2145 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By UKRINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Kiev January 12 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk confirmed that he would fly to Moscow to sign on Friday [14 January] an agreement with Russia and the United States which will oblige Ukraine to give up its nuclear weapons inherited from the former Soviet Union.

"Ukraine will carry out its obligations and will not stand in the way of nuclear disarmament", Kravchuk told a press conference on Wednesday after talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton.

The U.S. President stressed that the Ukrainian decision to become nuclear free opens wide prospects for it in getting economic aid from various international financial institutions.

The "Partnership for Peace" plan provides Ukraine with a possibility to cooperate with the armed forces of the

United States and NATO which will also promote Ukrainian security, according to Clinton.

The agreement will enhance the security of the three parties and the entire world, Clinton said.

Kravchuk thanked the U.S. President for his active promotion of cooperation between the two countries.

Kravchuk, Clinton Answer Correspondents' Questions

LD1301021794 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Question and answer session during a joint news conference by President Leonid Kravchuk and U.S. President Bill Clinton with domestic and foreign correspondents at the Borispol airport near Kiev—live; Clinton speaks in English with passage-by-passage translation into Ukrainian; processed from the English]

[Excerpts] [Kravchuk] Mr. President, I will allow myself to play the role of press secretary. I give the floor—an opportunity to ask a question—to our guests, to journalists from the United States of America.

[Correspondent, in English] (?Walt Lister) of CNN. What exactly must your parliament now do to ratify this agreement, and exactly how long will it take for Ukraine to become a non-nuclear nation?

[Kravchuk] Philosophers say everything is changing in this world. Life is changing. One cannot even step twice in the same place in a river. This is why our parliament, as life goes on, is becoming wiser. Our parliament, as life goes on, sees the realities. I am convinced that it will understand the essence of the great problem that is facing the world today, the essence of our relations. With the mutual desire of the three states—the United States of America, Ukraine, and Russia—we will fulfill our obligations, and the parliament will support us.

Now, a question from the Ukrainian side, please. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] On the American side, please. A lady there.

[Correspondent, in English] Thank you, and happy birthday, President Kravchuk! [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] Thank you for your congratulations, and I would like to express my satisfaction with the gentleness of our correspondent here, who mentioned Mrs. Clinton. Of course, I would be glad if she were here, and we all could see her.

Now, again I give an opportunity to a lady. Maybe I will receive yet another greeting from her.

[Correspondent] I echo the previous greeting, and I would like to ask this question: There is a shortage at times of those who are supposed to fulfill programs. In other words, they are unwilling to go to Ukraine because

of the uncertain situation there. Where are the guarantees that the agreements that were achieved today will be implemented?

[Kravchuk] If I were to answer this question, I would say that the guarantees are here in Ukraine. We will receive the attitude that we deserve according to the results of our work. Abstract guarantees do not exist.

[Clinton] If I might add just one point: Sometimes in discussions with nations, some actual guarantees do not materialize because they are dependent on decisions made by other parties—usually the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. In this case, every part of our agreement depends only upon the three presidents and their governments to keep their word. And I told—the first thing I said to—President Kravchuk tonight is that I would do everything I could to make sure that all three of us did exactly what was in the agreement, and I am confident that we will.

[Kravchuk] I have the greatest responsibility. I feel it as a press secretary—that there is a protocol. However, this is the last question, and I must allow you to ask it.

[Correspondent, in English] Mr. President. Mr. President Clinton. You mentioned the PFP—the Partnership for Peace—and there are some people who say that Russia has been using a type of passive imperialism in order to keep countries of Eastern Europe and Central Europe out of NATO for the time being by threatening destabilization. Do you agree with that? And I would be very interested in what President Kravchuk has to say.

[Clinton] No, I don't. I think.... [interrupted by interpreter who translates question into Ukrainian] The short answer to the question is that I do not agree with that, although President Yeltsin himself has expressed reservations about NATO membership for other countries if Russia is excluded. He, you know, he has expressed an interest in being a member himself. The leaders of NATO concluded that they should not offer membership at this time to any country because they weren't sure any country was ready to assume the responsibilities of membership and because they did not want to exclude anyone else. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] Mr. Clinton came to my help, and I give the right to the Ukrainian side to ask one more question.

[Correspondent] Which security guarantees will be provided by the United States and Russia to Ukraine after it acquires a non-nuclear status? [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. I would like to use yet another opportunity to say that we will compensate for our brief meeting with additional meetings, where we will begin to fulfill our obligations. You will contribute to this with unbiased coverage of the events in Ukraine and Ukraine's role in Europe and in the world. It would be best now to wish President Clinton a good journey. Good-bye. [passage omitted]

Clinton Concludes Visit, Departs

LD1201225994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2140 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By UKRINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 13 Jan—A brief visit by U.S. President Bill Clinton to Ukraine ended late at night. A consultative meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Bill Clinton took place at Borispol airport.

They discussed a wide range of issues connected with the present state and prospects for the development of the Ukrainian-American relations. In parallel, Ukrainian-American talks were held in which Acting Prime Minister Yefim Zvyagilskiy, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and other officials took part on the Ukrainian side.

At night, when the talks ended, the U.S. president flew to Moscow.

Earlier the presidents held a press conference at the airport. Answering questions from journalists Bill Clinton said, inter alia, that Ukraine's decision to become a nuclear-free state opens for it broad possibilities of getting economic aid from different international organizations. The fact that Ukraine understands the "Partnership for Peace" formula provides it with a possibility of cooperation with U.S. and NATO armed forces, something which will promote Ukraine's security, too.

During the meeting with journalists, the heads of two states told them about various aspects of the talks that had taken place. Kravchuk thanked Bill Clinton for his active assistance in the cause of developing cooperation between the two states.

After the press conference Kravchuk announced that he was prepared to give a television interview to national television and CNN.

Students Demonstrate During Clinton Visit

LD1301105194 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0953 GMT 13 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Kiev—U.S. President Bill Clinton arrived in the Ukrainian capital on a visit lasting several hours on 12 January. [passage omitted] During the negotiations between the U.S. and Ukrainian presidents, activists from the Popular Movement of Ukraine [Rukh] and the Union of Ukrainian Students were holding a demonstration with slogans in their hands. In particular, among them were the following: "Clinton, we warn you: first Crimea then Alaska," "disarmament threatens Europe," "No to the new world divide," "All rockets to Zhirinovskiy?," "Bill, would you disarm if you were in the same cage as the Russian bear?"

Spokesman on Approval Needed for Tripartite Agreement*MK1201140094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3*

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric]

[Text] Regarding the meeting in Kiev between the presidents of the United States and Ukraine scheduled for today, Yuriy Sergeyev, head of the information service, stated at a news briefing at Ukraine's Foreign Ministry that it will be devoted to discussing the final text of a document on the future of Ukrainian nuclear weapons. This document is expected to be signed in Moscow on 14 January by the Presidents of the United States, Ukraine, and Russia. According to Sergeyev, there is still no final text of the document, and it is still unknown whether it is going to be an agreement, treaty, statement, communique, or declaration of three sides. As is known, a treaty and an agreement are subject to ratification by the Ukrainian parliament, whereas a communique, statement, or a declaration do not need this.

Yuriy Sergeyev also stated that should the text of the document not be agreed on in Moscow, the tripartite meeting will be of a consultative nature, the same as recent similar talks in Kiev, Moscow, and Washington. Responding to a question about possible condemnation by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet of Leonid Kravchuk's activity, Yuriy Sergeyev said that the signed document should take into consi.... [apparent line drop in original as published]

Deputies Debate Validity of Nuclear Agreement*LD1201140394 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1207 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Kiev, 12 Jan—As Anatoliy Matviyenko, a member of the Supreme Council presidium told a UNIAN correspondent on 11 January, Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch urgently interrupted his holiday to return to Kiev. He held a meeting with the participation of presidium members of the Ukrainian Supreme Council and the leadership of the secretariat. They decided to hold on 12 January a joint meeting of the Supreme Council standing commissions.

As Matviyenko noted, the urgent convening of the meeting is connected with the Kravchuk and Clinton meeting and in particular with the possibility of signing, on 14 January in Moscow, a document on issues of disarmament. Since, in the opinion of some deputies, the signing of such a document by Kravchuk is a direct violation of current legislation and Ukraine's Constitution and contradicts many points of the conditions to the ratification of the START Treaty of 18 November, Ukraine's Supreme Council should draw up a single position on these issues.

Commission Head Questions Pact*LD1301110994 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0953 GMT 13 Jan 94*

[Text] Kiev—As Borys Bazylevskyy, head of the Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Commission Secretariat, told a UNIAN correspondent on 12 January, "the meeting between the presidents of Ukraine, the United States, and Russia should be ponderable, but the decision reached could contradict a decision by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. Everything depends on whether the United States will have an understanding attitude to Ukraine's position and its economic situation. In Ukraine the attitude to this meeting is not unequivocal."

Borys Bazylevskyy added that today members of the commission are working on the ratification of conventions and international agreements that will be discussed at the next session.

Agreement on Crime Prevention Initialed With Israel*WS1201132894 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] According to information from the Center for Public Relations of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, today in the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ukrainian minister of internal affairs and Israeli minister of police, energy, and infrastructure initialed an agreement on cooperation in the area of crime prevention and law breaking between the two countries. A news conference for journalists was then held. Answering journalists' questions, Israeli Minister Moshe Shahal stated that Israeli police pay special attention to crime prevention, which is a task for the entire state, not just the police. The use of firearms by criminals, as well as drug smuggling were also discussed.

Zvyahilskyy, Shahal Discuss Cooperation*LD1301104294 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1539 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Kiev—On 11 January, acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy gave a private dinner, where he discussed numerous issues concerning bilateral economic cooperation with members of the Israeli delegation. In an interview with a UNIAN correspondent, Moshe Shahal, minister of police, energy, and infrastructure, noted: "With regard to our state's participation in the structure of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation meeting [ChES] on the basis of an associate member as Ivan Plyushch, speaker of the Ukrainian parliament, had proposed during a visit to Israel, Tel Aviv believes in such interaction, and considers that real grounds exist for fruitful regional cooperation in the Black Sea basin. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Israel took part in the last ChES that was held in December in Sofia. As competent persons from Ukraine's Foreign Economic Relations Ministry added,

the foundation of the ChES international community is still in an organizational stage of being founded, and participation in it by new members, apart from the 11 real members (Ukraine, Russia, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, Albania, Georgia, Armenia, Romania, Moldova) in particular, of Poland and Israel, is highly probable. At the end of January a consultative meeting is planned between the Ukrainian and Turkish side, possibly with the participation of other states that will ascertain this and other prospects for continuing cooperation in the region.

According to preliminary information from Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Ukrainian initiative on creating a coastal trade zone will be put on the agenda. At the moment, this is being discussed by the appropriate structures of the ChES member countries.

National Affairs

Supreme Council Commission Discusses Draft Constitution

LD1201204594

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 1710 GMT on 12 January carries a report on an expanded sitting of the Supreme Council commission in charge of drafting Ukraine's new constitution, held on 12 January under the chairmanship of President Leonid Kravchuk. The sitting was attended by chairmen of the oblast and city councils of people's deputies, president's representatives in the oblasts, and leaders of political parties.

Correspondent Anatoliy Komirenko says that the current constitution of Ukraine was adopted in Soviet times and, although updated, it did not create a legal basis for solving political and economic problems facing Ukraine, especially in conditions of a deep economic crisis. Which body is to adopt the new constitution: the Supreme Council, a constituent assembly, or an all-Ukrainian referendum to be held simultaneously with the election of people's deputies on 27 March 1994? Such issues were discussed at the sitting of the commission.

Komirenko says that in his introductory speech Leonid Kravchuk indicated that for the sake of a reliable functioning of all the power structures it is necessary to lay down a reliable constitutional basis. In the opinion of the president, one of the ways to do this is to work up the draft constitution which has been elaborated for more than three years now. This can be done simultaneously with the elections to the Supreme Council.

The broadcast then carries a recorded extract from Kravchuk's speech, in which he says: "What would we like to discuss at this meeting of ours? First, if the draft constitution is submitted for an all-Ukrainian referendum, any aggravation of political struggle should be (?avoided). For this it is necessary to polish again and again separate provisions of the draft constitution. In

particular, it is necessary to withdraw—or formulate in a more clear-cut way—those provisions which may cause aggravation and, by the way, those which can be solved by the Supreme Council of the next convocation, as is being done throughout the world. That is to say, not all issues should be submitted to the referendum in their full volume if we know that people's opinions on these issues will differ.

"Second, it would be worthwhile introducing relevant corrections to the provisions of the draft concerning the delimitation of state power and the structure of power in the regions, proceeding from the necessity to keep a maximum balance, precisely a balance, precisely more extensive rights to the regions, proceeding from the policy of decentralization. And what's more, all this should be done so as to preserve the state's integrity.

"Third, it would be expedient to forecast the passing of the prepared documents and the draft constitution, both our documents which have been handed to you, to the Supreme Council and also those to be submitted to the referendum. Nevertheless, it would be worthwhile having a forecast, to have a plan of action so as to ensure the adoption of the constitution by the people of Ukraine. The adoption of the new constitution by a nationwide vote would be the optimal, ideal way out of the constitutional crisis."

Korimenko goes on to say that the sitting participants also discussed the draft law on the structure of state power. In the opinion of certain speakers, it was elaborated even better than the draft fundamental law. In particular, Oleksandr Kotsynba, chairman of the standing commission for issues of legislation and legality, gave a positive assessment of the draft new constitution and a negative assessment of the draft law on the structure of state power. In particular, he said that this draft law has no mechanism for tackling and regulating a whole number of problems ranging from the structure to the plenary powers, to the functions of the state bodies, etc.

Korimenko adds that Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika [Rukh], disagreed with Oleksandr Kotsyuba as far as the law on the structure of state power was concerned. In his opinion the adoption of such a document is imperative.

According to Korimenko, the speakers pointed out more than once that the draft constitution should be adopted by a certain body before it is submitted to a nationwide referendum. People's deputy Vitaliy Karpenko favored the idea of convening a constitutional assembly. Certain speakers were concerned about the fact that the election may fail to take place for one reason or another, which means that the referendum on the constitution would also be undermined. This is why it would be expedient to introduce amendments to the constitution currently in force so as to ensure the legitimacy of the new parliament's activity.

The sitting participants agreed that the future of the state depends on the solution of the issue of power. When it comes to the constitution, haste is unnecessary; however, further procrastination is also inadmissible, Korimenko concludes.

The program's announcer then says that, summing up the results of the sitting, Leonid Kravchuk emphasized the necessity of forming a working group of the members of the constitutional commission headed by Ivan Plyushch to summarize the expressed proposals and remarks. After this the draft constitution will be considered at the conference of the leaders of councils at all levels which will take place in Kiev on 18-19 January. With regard for the results of the discussion at this conference, the draft fundamental law will be submitted for the consideration of the ninth session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine. It will consider this document, and the most important provisions of the constitution, which will not be approved by the Supreme Council, will be submitted to the all-Ukrainian referendum on 27 March simultaneously with the election to the parliament. This proposal was approved by the majority of votes.

Crimean Presidential Candidate Eludes Assassination Bid

LD1301100994 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Jan 94

[Text] Interfax reports that Leonid Grach, the Communist Party's candidate for the post of Crimean president, narrowly escaped an assassination attempt yesterday evening. The bullet, fired at the party's headquarters, slightly wounded the occupant of an armchair vacated by Leonid Grach 20 minutes earlier, when he left to take part in a radio debate.

Crimean Presidential Candidates See Bagrov as Kiev Agent

MK1201151194 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 2, 9-16 Jan 94 (signed to press 11 Jan) p A2

[Aleksandr Zhilin report under the "Elections" rubric: "Bagrov Accused of Not Playing by the Rules"]

[Text] A group of candidates running for the republic's presidency has issued a statement in Crimea accusing Nikolay Bagrov of breaking the rules of the election campaign.

Among other things, Bagrov's rivals complain that Nikolay Vasilyevich's loyalists are constantly trying to discredit all other participants in the election campaign. They are also indignant at the fact that Ukrainian government newspapers, radio, and television have given their backing to Bagrov. This put the contenders at a disadvantage from the outset.

A MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent has learned that the Kiev authorities support Nikolay

Bagrov, seeing him as an instrument of Ukraine's national policy. He announced his bid for the presidency only after chiefs of a pro-Kravchuk foundation called "The New Generation"—Shmelev, who is also Kravchuk's adviser, and Buryak—conducted active work with him from 27 October to 1 November. It is noteworthy that Messrs. Shmelev and Buryak arrived in Crimea by car incognito. Mr. Shevye, chairman of the Crimea's Economic Revival Party, who received the emissaries from Kiev, arranged confidential meetings for them with Bagrov in the "Yuzhnyy" sanatorium. After Shmelev and Buryak, who incidentally supervise the center for assistance to the presidential authority, spoke to Bagrov, the latter decided to try his luck in the presidential elections.

As soon as Kiev's envoys left Crimea, terror swept the region. On 6 November, Yuriy Asmanov, leader of the Crimean Tatars National Movement, was assassinated. Black Sea Fleet officers perish one after another. Tensions begin to rise in the region along with a campaign aimed at discrediting all candidates for the presidency except Nikolay Bagrov.

Officers' Union To Contest Parliamentary Elections

AU1201134094 Ivano-Frankivsk HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 4 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Ivan Merinchuk, chairman of the oblast organization of the Ukrainian Officers' Union (SOU); and Mykola Kadrashchuk, chairman of the SOU Committee for Military and Patriotic Indoctrination of Young People, by Bohdan Vivchar; place and date not given: "For the Defense of Ukraine"—answers to questions not attributed]

[Text] As has already been reported, the fifth congress of the Ukrainian Officers' Union was held in Kiev. It elected the new SOU [Ukrainian Officers Union] chairman—Major General Roy, approved the composition of structural bodies, and introduced changes to the statutes. Our correspondent had a conversation with delegates of the congress—Ivan Merinchuk, chairman of the oblast organization of the Ukrainian Officers' Union; and Mykola Kadrashchuk, chairman of the SOU Committee for the Military and Patriotic Indoctrination of Young People.

[Vivchar] Lately, much pressure has been exerted upon the Ukrainian Officers' Union and patriotically minded servicemen. This found its expression in the replacement of Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov, who supported the SOU, and in accusations that the Union was involved in political activity.

[Answer] National chauvinist forces in parliament, headed by such notorious figures as Marchenko, Moroz, Charodyyev, Izmailkov, and others, are doing everything that they can to discredit the SOU and mainly to eliminate it or, at least, to isolate officers on active service from it. What is their goal? To prevent the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state

through the building of strong armed forces. As long as intentions are announced and declarations are made, our opponents are still ready to listen to them. However, as soon as specific steps are made toward their implementation, the entire communist gang immediately goes into opposition. Over the time of its activity, the SOU has returned to Ukraine more than 10,000 Ukrainian officers and has prevented the removal of military property worth billions of U.S. dollars from the state. It conducts a relentless struggle against those who do not like the idea of building strong national armed forces.

[Vivchar] The SOU was also against the signing by President Kravchuk of the Massandra agreements with Russia....

[Answer] Yes, we supported Defense Minister Morozov's position regarding those actions. Nobody has any doubt that this person is a patriot who did everything to enable our young state to have a strong army, based upon national principles and the interests of an independent Ukraine. Morozov opposed the creation of a military alliance, resembling the Warsaw Pact, among the CIS countries. At that time, the idea failed. By removing Morozov from his post as defense minister, these chauvinist forces are planning to draw Ukraine into a new military alliance.

[Vivchar] How did the congress proceed?

[Answer] Let us point out that the destructive forces did everything that they could to undermine its work. For example, it was only at the last moment that delegates representing the regular army were allowed to attend the congress. The atmosphere that prevailed at the congress was one of unity regarding ways of building up the Ukrainian Army and state and emerging from the economic crisis. The participation of the SOU in the Supreme Council elections was also discussed. It was proposed that the Officers' Union consolidate its ties with parties and movements of the democratic bloc, so that in the case of a threat to the independence of our state, a single front could be formed, not ruling out the revival of the UPA [the Ukrainian Insurrection Army]. These ideas were mainly expressed by delegates from eastern regions of our state and were approved by guests of the congress, including representatives of Russian Cossackdom and Cossacks from other CIS countries, who stated their support for the struggle of the Ukrainian people for Ukrainian independence.

[Vivchar] The congress expressed a readiness to participate in the forthcoming elections?

[Answer] Yes, the SOU will nominate its candidates in all the regions of Ukraine. It has called upon all citizens to take part in the elections and to elect to parliament people who will be able to extricate Ukraine from the crisis and to build up our state. Representatives from the army are needed there. For example, a tank that has no equal in the world was designed and tested in Ukraine. For a whole year, the Cabinet of Ministers did not find it possible to make a single step toward manufacturing this

machine and equipping the army with it. Ukraine is destroying and scrapping tanks, and, at the same time, the government refuses to sell them to other countries. Instead, Russia is now selling them. This deal would have earned our state the hard currency that we need so badly: By selling 100 tanks, we would have obtained that same \$175 million that we are now begging from the United States.

[Vivchar] Such a policy also prevails in aircraft building, space technology, and missile building. It is high time that order were established in the state and something were done in the interests of the people, instead of picturing us before the world as beggars and turning us into genuine paupers. It follows from everything that there exist influential forces that want, at any price, to bring Ukraine to its knees, so that we will again ask "Big Brother" to be our guardian.

[Answer] This is precisely what the Officers' Union is trying to prevent. Had the power structures, starting from the president and the government, fought for their own state and against anti-Ukrainian forces in the Crimea and in other regions with the same ardor as they struggle against the SOU, we would by now have definitely made serious steps toward our statehood and independence. However, despite everything, nobody will manage to eliminate the Officers' Union, split it up, or divert it from its goals. The decisions adopted by the recent congress confirm this. The SOU is again ready to defend Ukraine.

Central Electoral Commission Registers 2 More Parties

LD1201140694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0848 GMT
12 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—On 11 January, the Central Electoral Commission issued registration certificates to the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Party of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine, and the Peasant Democratic Party of Ukraine in connection with their intention to nominate candidates for participation in the elections of Ukrainian people's deputies on 27 March 1994. Thus, 23 political parties have been issued their Central Electoral Commission registration certificates by now.

Political Parties Given Regular TV Slots

PM1201134594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Report by Mariya Starozhitskaya of UNIAN under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Ukrainian Political Parties Commence Election Statements on Television and Radio"]

[Text] Kiev—As of 12 January each of the 23 parties registered with the Central Electoral Commission is being granted 10 minutes of airtime on weekdays.

It has been decided to refrain from casting lots: The order of the statements has been decided by the order of registration. The second stage of the campaign will begin 1 February—hour-long discussions between blocs or parties. Only commercial television companies will be able to grant airtime to individual aspirants: according to a minimum tariff within the limits of the candidate's fund. This fund stands at 10 times the minimum wage or 6 million karbovanets, while one minute of airtime on a nonstate channel, according to the lowest estimates, will cost approximately 2.5 million.

Main Parties Participating in Elections Detailed

WSI201175194 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian
11 Jan 94 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Yaroslav Mynko: "Who Will Unite With Whom?"]

[Text] Four political forces prevail in Ukraine's current social life. The most influential of them is the so-called 'party of power,' represented by presidential structures and a majority of lawmakers. The possibility to influence the progress of electoral competition is their privilege. These people are interested in preserving the current state of things, which amounts to preserving their legislative seats. I think that the constituency has had a chance to access the activities of this group and to feel the effects of the latter over the last four years. I do not mean only negative phenomena surrounding us but also genuinely historic events—the winning of independence and avoiding armed conflicts. Although, I must point out that this achievement should not be attributed to our mutated nomenklatura, because they are rather a result of our nation's wisdom, perseverance, and natural drive for democracy, telling to obey the most mediocre governments out of compassion for the weak and unwise. The current government made promises and humbly repented for not keeping them, but when it comes to losing power and dramatically changing their fate, they will wage an uncompromising war to keep their seats. The merging of powers has resulted in a situation when every oblast has its "presidents" and "fuehrers" ready to use their official status for victory in the elections.

The Socialist Party is another significant political force, represented by communists who want to separate themselves from the crimes of the Bolshevik regime and accept existing realities, including Ukraine's independence. However, this does not mean that these people have broken the ideals of "real socialism." Socialists oppose "antipopular reform" and "capitalist ideology."

Before the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Ukraine, its members worked within the Socialist Party structures. One could assume that the two parties would form an electoral bloc, but following the Communist Party's official registration, conflicts arose over distributing nominations for candidates. Then, Socialists made the final decision to refrain from forming coalitions and decided to participate independently in the elections.

Still, in the political aspect, the Communist Party remains a shadow of the Socialist Party; being not the smallest party in Ukraine, it does not have a lot of supporters. After some aggressive statements by its First Secretary Symonenko, the leadership of the party keeps mysteriously silent, perhaps having a surprise up their sleeve. One may anticipate that depending on the results of the elections, Communists will probably join Socialists or vice versa, disregarding the only basic discrepancy in their programs. Socialists champion Ukraine's independence, while Communists oppose it. However, judging from their fraternization, the similarity of political views, and traditional habit not to keep promises, new realities may bring the two parties together.

The electoral bloc of V. Hrynyov's New Ukraine and the Civic Union led by former Prime Minister Kuchma, also has numerous supporters. The two parties have absolute accord on the most crucial issue—Ukraine can survive only with Russia's assistance and thus, will continue to be dependent on its neighbor. This standpoint puts an end to age-old hopes to join Europe, once voiced by the Ukrainian president. Leonid Kuchma continues to reiterate his hackneyed phrase that the West will not welcome us. However, he has never bothered to ask himself this question: "Why should they?"

Yet, a difference in views on Ukraine's economic development seems more surprising. Hrynyov advocates deep political and economic reform on the basis of market relations and private property, while Kuchma, being the prime minister supported the preservation of the state-run sector, representing 95 percent of the Ukrainian economy.

Both parties are primarily represented by hardheaded technocrats and big enterprise managers disregarding any psychological peculiarities of the nation. Many of them believe that patriotism is for fools. For example, Hrynyov treats the winning of independence as a given fact and not a progressive phenomenon. In his opinion, Ukraine should become a multinational state. The trick is that this otherwise perfect term in the current realities is devised for granting privileges to Russian culture and Russian mentality. Pragmatists do not care about Ukraine's rocky path to freedom.

Finally, the fourth force (due to its numeric strength rather than political significance) is the People's Rukh of Ukraine. Its program lists joining the EC, consolidating economic independence, and a renaissance of Ukrainian culture as the organization's primary goals. According to Rukh postulates, a society devoid of national features cannot integrate in world processes without risk of becoming someone else's appendage. A renaissance of national culture is a prerequisite, or rather the only way to join world culture. Without strengthening patriotism it is impossible to overcome the economic crisis racking the country. This is not romanticism; this is one of the most important factors of stability and democracy, which has been proven by the experience of those

European and Asian countries that have become world leaders with regard to people's well-being.

The remaining principles promoted by the Rukh coincide with those of New Ukraine—the building of a market economy and equal relations with all states, including Russia.

The chances of political parties and blocs in the upcoming elections depend not only on the number of their members, but also on the number of supporters and sympathizers. It is interesting that out of 450 electoral districts, 300 are urban districts. It is evident that the future fate of the state will be determined in those districts.

In Donbass, the south Cisdnieper areas, and a part of northeastern Ukraine, votes will be divided between the Hrynyov-Kuchma bloc and socialist-communist candidates. However, it would be naive to believe that this will grant anyone absolute domination in the legislature. National-democratic forces will probably receive support from central and western Ukrainian oblasts.

Edict Sets Up Ways of Improved Use of Mineral Deposits

AU1301110494 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Jan 94 p 4

["Ukrainian Presidential Edict on the Geological Exploration and Procedure for Utilizing Ukraine's Tectonically Produced Mineral Deposits" issued in Kiev on 30 December]

[Text] In order to ensure a comprehensive and more complete utilization of mineral raw-materials resources and improve the state of the environment, I resolve as follows:

1. To determine that all those remnants of raw materials resulting from extraction, enrichment, and processing of mineral raw materials that have been covered by geological studies in accordance with an established procedure and that have been valued and found to be of industrial significance are placed in the category of tectonically produced mineral deposits.

The tectonically produced mineral deposits are included into the State Fund for Ukraine's Mineral Deposits and are used in accordance with the procedure established by Ukraine's legislation on mineral resources.

2. To determine that the placement of remnants of raw materials resulting from extraction, enrichment, and processing of mineral raw materials in the category of tectonically produced mineral deposits does not entail any change in the existing legislation on the procedure for collecting payment for their presence in the environment.

3. Ukraine's State Committee for Geology and Utilization of Mineral Resources is in charge of organizing and methodologically ensuring geological exploration of tectonically produced mineral deposits.

4. In elaborating draft plans for socioeconomic development, Ukraine's Ministry of Economy, jointly with Ukraine's State Committee on Geology and Utilization of Mineral Deposits must provide, starting from 1994, for a separate item specifying capital on the geological exploration of tectonically produced mineral deposits within the limits of capital allocated for financing geological exploration.

[Signed] Ukraine's President L. Kravchuk

[Dated] Kiev, 30 December 1993

Belarus

Kravchenko Hails Clinton Visit as Breakthrough

LD1201181494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1802 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By BELINFORM correspondents Vladimir Glod and Aleksandr Lyushkevich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk January 12 TASS—"The U.S. President's visit to the republic is not only of tremendous political and economic importance. It will also have great moral significance," Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko told a news conference in Minsk on Wednesday.

The visit will break through the information vacuum caused by the fact that Belarus was not a sovereign state and will help it acquire its political face in the international arena, Kravchenko said.

He added, however, that President Bill Clinton's visit to Belarus is not incidental. This is a recognition of its tactful, logical and well-balanced foreign policy, he said.

The minister noted that during the talks the sides will discuss compensation to Belarus for nuclear disarmament. The visit will also give a fresh impetus to the development of bilateral relations between the two states. He did not rule out the possibility that a set of agreements may be signed after the visit, including agreements on investment privileges and protection of investments, on scientific cooperation and banking.

As for the programme of Clinton's stay in Belarus, there will be a 30-minute welcoming ceremony at the airport. Then the U.S. delegation will proceed to Kuropaty, the burial place of the victims of Stalin repressions. In Kuropaty Clinton will also meet with Belarusian opposition leader Zenon Poznyak, confidential sources told the BELINFORM news agency.

Closer to noon, Clinton is expected to hold talks with Belarusian Parliament Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich. Clinton will also meet with Belarusian deputies. After the talks Clinton, Shushkevich and Kebich will attend a wreath-laying ceremony at the war memorial in the city centre.

The U.S. President will address young scientists with a 15-minute speech at the republican Academy of Sciences. At Minsk airport Clinton will meet with U.S. diplomats working in Belarus and then leave for Geneva.

In the evening, Shushkevich will hold a news conference. Clinton will not be present. It has been known, however, that the American side plans to hold a news conference at the Hotel Planeta where foreign journalists will be staying.

Minsk Prepares for Clinton's Visit

LD1201185294 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Excerpt] The capital of Belarus is preparing for the arrival of Bill Clinton. The U.S. president will spend no more than six hours in Minsk. Clinton's visit on 15 January will include talks with the heads of the parliament and government of Belarus, a speech to Belarusian young people in the Academy of Sciences, and a visit to Kuropaty, the site of mass shootings in the 1930's.

Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko said it is possible that several bilateral documents will be signed, including documents on protecting investments, on cooperation in science, and banking. The president's wife Hillary Clinton will visit medical establishments where Chernobyl victims are being treated. Petr Kravchenko said Bill Clinton's visit was an acknowledgement that Belarus is most logically and consistently conducting a policy of nuclear disarmament. [passage omitted]

Kebich Links Nuclear Stand With Visit

WS1201190794 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Statement by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich during news conference with unidentified reporters from the Belarusian Television and Radio Company and BELINFORM on 12 January; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is clear that if Belarus were a nuclear state, if we had not refused to keep the nuclear weapons, we would not be participating in this meeting [with President Clinton]. I am speaking sincerely. However, we see that the Clinton administration is paying tribute to Belarus, and this is being done, first and foremost, by U. S. President Bill Clinton. This is brought about by the fact that we do not lay claims to nuclear weapons and we do not make nuclear weapons the subject of political bargaining. This is the most important thing. I hope that during our short meeting—Clinton will stay with us no more than five hours—we will discuss issues related solely to economic relations between Belarusian and U.S. business circles.

Paznyak Explains Reluctance To Meet Clinton

WS1301104694 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 2100 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Interview with Zyanon Paznyak, leader of the Belarusian Popular Movement, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Clinton's visit to Belarus has some peculiarities, one of which is the controversial refusal of Zyanon Paznyak, leader of the Belarusian Popular Movement [BNF], to accept an invitation by the U.S. Ambassador in Belarus David Swartz, to meet with

the American President at his residence. The BNF leader thinks that the U.S. Embassy invited to the meeting organizations that are against Belarusian independence and oppose the BNF rather than the Supreme Soviet or the Kebich government. We made a phone call to Mr. Paznyak and asked him to explain what actually happened at the Embassy and what would be the BNF's next moves.

[Paznyak] Well, I was presented to members of the National Accord Party and former party hacks who once opposed the referendum and the Popular Movement. A very strange lot of people. This is why I thought that I was put in an awkward position here. What kind of opposition would this be? So I expressed my doubts as to the relevance of my participation at that meeting, which, I heard, even spilled over to the press pages. However, Embassy officials have again brought me the invitation today. I think that the Embassy's mistake is one thing, but it is a completely different thing that I should attend that meeting out of respect for President Clinton and the United States. This is why I certainly will go there. And I would like to assure everyone that I am not going to make any controversial statements there. Since President Clinton offers such an opportunity, I will be glad to accept it.

[Correspondent] And there will be no face-to-face meeting of Paznyak and Clinton?

[Paznyak] No. After all, this may not be so important because the meeting will take place in Kuropaty [burial place of victims killed by the Soviet security police in the 1930's]. But in Kuropaty we will talk about Kuropaty, of course.

[Correspondent] What questions is the opposition going to bring up during this meeting?

[Paznyak] This will be a short, 15-minute meeting. So considering the presence of many political party activists, I don't think any serious questions will be raised. I think that the conversation will touch upon the delayed democratic processes in Belarus, and on assistance from a democratic state such as the United States for those processes. This is going to be the main issue. I consider it a crucial fact that President Clinton is going to visit Belarus, seeing it as an independent state. This proves that Belarus managed to attract the attention of the United States.

Claims Clinton Requests Meeting

LD1201175194 Minsk Belarusian Foreign Ministry
Department of Information in Russian 1633 GMT
12 Jan 94

[Text] Representatives of the BPF [Belarusian People's Front] parliamentary opposition have had a meeting with journalists at the Supreme Soviet. BPF leader, Z. Paznyak, stated that he has proposed a meeting with President B. Clinton on 15 January during his visit to

Kuropaty. "The initiative for the meeting came from the U.S. side," Z. Paznyak made clear.

The leader of the parliamentary opposition sharply attacked the Supreme Soviet Speaker S. Shushkevich, for signing the agreement on collective security, accusing him of betraying the national interests of Belarus by this step.

He expressed a negative attitude to the agreement signed in Moscow on merging the money systems of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus, and also the likelihood of the Republic of Belarus joining NATO

Leaders in Talks With Ukraine's Kuchma

LD1201213394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709
GMT 12 Jan 94

[by BELINFORM correspondents Larisa Lazar and Larisa Klyuchnikova]

[Text] Minsk January 12 TASS—Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich met with Leonid Kuchma, president of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, in Minsk on Wednesday to discuss prospects for forging an economic union between the two republics.

Kuchma told journalists after the meeting that Kebich showed full understanding of the need to establish direct horizontal ties between Belarusian and Ukrainian manufacturers.

"We should think about tomorrow for ourselves, using our own experience," Kuchma said. He stressed the importance of Belarus' integrating role in the restoration of economic relations between former Soviet republics and supported Kebich's moves aimed at establishing an economic union with Russia.

During his meeting with Vyacheslav Kuznetsov, first deputy chairman of the Belarusian parliament, Kuchma said that the Belarusian model of integration of the monetary systems of Russia and Belarus is more preferable than others. He supported the Belarusian Government's position calling for a gradual, evolutionary development of the economy and rejecting shock therapy methods.

Kuznetsov and Kuchma called for strengthening both bilateral inter-state and direct ties between enterprises within the framework of the CIS economic union.

Kuznetsov noted that 1994 will be a year of big political activity for Belarus. The republic will have to determine the future state system, adopt a new constitution and a law on elections. However, no economic or political upheavals should be allowed to weaken friendship between the Slav nations and their good neighbourly and respective relations between each other.

'Belaya Rus' Discourages Nuclear Disarmament*WS1201145694 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1*

[Report by Valeriy Stepanov under the "Political Zodiac" rubric: "Slavs Against 'New World Order'"]

[Text] At a news conference held by leaders of the Slavic Union Belaya Rus, journalists have been informed of several resolutions adopted during the Union's recent congress, as well as of the participation of Union representatives in the meeting of Slavic patriotic organizations in Kiev.

Organizers of the news conference stressed that, with regard to the increased tendency to bring a categorical tone to international dialogue, participants in the Kiev meeting—representatives of patriotic organizations from Ukraine, the Russian Federation, Belarus, and Poland—protested against the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine and Belarus.

To resist the establishment of a "new world order," the Slavic Union intends to convene the World Slavic Congress in summer 1994. For this purpose, the Union Belaya Rus has already established a Belarusian committee to make preparations for the Congress.

Union representatives also stated that the current Supreme Soviet is incapable of resolving any important issues, and therefore it should adopt a new electoral law and a resolution to hold early elections in the fall of 1994.

Parliament Budgets 650 Billion Rubles for Army*PM1201131194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 1*

[Valeriy Kovalev report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "Belarusian Military Budget Only Sufficient To Feed Army"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belarusian Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on the state budget for 1994. The republic's difficult economic and financial position has forced parliamentarians to cut military expenditure to a minimum.

The Republic of Belarus Ministry of Defense has been allocated a little over 650 billion rubles [R] from the state "purse," which constitutes roughly 4 percent of the budget's expenditure section. The lion's share of these funds will go to pay monetary allowances to servicemen, to pay for communal services, and to provide the Army with food and clothing. A total of R18 billion—around 3.5 [figure as published] percent of the military budget—is earmarked for the purchase of hardware and arms, and the spare parts for them.

Differences With Russia on Monetary Merger*LD1201214994 Minsk Belarusian Foreign Ministry Department of Information in Russian 1633 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] According to a BELAPAN report, received at the National Bank of Belarus, there remain today two fundamental differences between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on the question of the merger of the monetary, credit, and financial systems of the two states. Belarus is insisting that the payment notes of the National Bank of the republic during the merger of the money systems should be exchanged for Russian rubles at a rate of one to one. Russia supports a rate of three Belarusian rubles to one Russian.

The second issue is that Belarus is making efforts to ensure that Russia's domestic prices for energy sources and raw materials after the merger of the money systems will also apply to the territory of Belarus, while representatives of the Russian Government do not agree with this.

It is thought that an attempt to overcome these differences will be made today at the working meeting in Moscow of S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, with B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. Taking part in the talks on the Belarusian side are Vice Premier U. Zalamay and National Bank Board Chairman S. Bagdankevich.

U.S. Promises \$76 Million Aid for Disarmament*PM1201132194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3*

[Valeriy Kovalev report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "U.S. Dollars Start Working"]

[Text] The U.S. government has promised to allocate \$76 million from the Nunn-Lugar Fund to give aid to Belarus in connection with disarmament and conversion. The republic has already received the first \$20 million.

According to the agreement reached by the sides, 10.5 million "greenbacks" from this sum will go into the conversion of three major Belarusian defense enterprises—BelOMO, the "Integral" Plant, and the Minsk "Computer Technology" Production Association. The remaining funds will be used to build housing for servicemen and to equip the republic center for retraining servicemen transferred to the reserve and placing them in jobs. In the past few days, a consignment of equipment for computer classes worth \$187,000 was supplied from the United States to the center's branch in Lida. Equipment for setting up a network of service stations will arrive there mid-January—it is specifically for these stations that the Lida branch will be training specialists.

Kebich: Monetary Union 'Saved Sovereignty'

WS1201165894 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian
11 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Uladzimir Hlod: "The End Crowns the Work..."]

[Text] It was almost 11 PM when a plane with the Belarusian delegation on board took off from Vnukovo airport to Minsk. Less than 10 minutes later, [Belarusian Prime Minister] Vyacheslav Kebich came out of the airplane's lounge to greet his aides and experts with the successful completion of negotiations in Moscow.

We, journalists, were told as follows:

"The government, headed by me, has always followed the course of establishing firm ties, as well as stable and mutually profitable relations with Russia. This day crowns the complex and exhaustive work. Therefore, I do not conceal my deepest satisfaction."

On 5 January at Moscow's White House, into which the Russian Government had moved just few days ago, three documents were signed. At the beginning, Vyacheslav Kebich and [Russian Prime Minister] Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a statement on the upcoming unification of both countries' monetary systems; afterward, Deputy Prime Ministers Stanislav Bryl [Belarus] and Aleksandr Shokin [Russia] placed their signatures under a document on deliveries of Russian gas to Belarus and the construction of a system of gas pipelines on Belarusian territory.

This way, the long-awaited unification of the monetary systems of Belarus and Russia came into effect. Asked whether any secret points had been included in the document, Vyacheslav Kebich stated the following:

"No, and I believe that the full text of the statement not only can but also should be published in the press. This should be done to prevent all possible misunderstandings and insinuations."

As a matter of fact, my task is much easier now—any reader can carefully study the text of the statement. I would only like to point out that the statement is accompanied by a package containing 10 documents which outline the mechanism for implementing the unification. The documents are to be signed in Minsk in January, and, as the Belarusian prime minister pointed out, "due to the upcoming visit to Minsk by U.S. President Bill Clinton, the signing ceremony will be held in the second half of the month."

The documents signed in Moscow were agreed to not only by government heads. Also Russian President Boris Yeltsin has approved them. He, as the Belarusian Cabinet leader noted, expressed hope that the package on unification of the monetary systems will become effective as soon as possible.

As experts explained, following the signing of all the documents, the Russian ruble will be freely circulated on territories of both states, and for a certain period of time, we will return to the situation in which we have already been, meaning coexistent circulation of two currencies. Probably, the process of transition to the Russian ruble will be considerably protracted. Some experts believe that this will last three to six months, others do not exclude the possibility that the process will be protracted to the end of the year. This is connected with purely technical capabilities of providing Belarus with cash.

Journalists were interested as to why Russia assumed the responsibility for curbing inflation in Belarus. In response, Vyacheslav Kebich said:

"There is no inflation. If we enter the joint economic space and the ruble zone; if we unify prices for energy sources for Belarus and Russia, even given Belarus' financing exploration work and the drilling of new wells; and if we introduce the one to one currency exchange rate, we will not join the union as a yoke around Russia's neck, but as an equal state."

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin described the signing of the statement as "an important frontier, for which we have headed." According to his words, Russia and Belarus have closely approached not only the unification of their monetary systems, but also deepening of the economic integration in the framework of the CIS. Asked by a BELINFORM correspondent whether the Belarusian-Russian union would become a precedent for broadening cooperation among other countries of the former Soviet Union, the two prime ministers replied affirmatively.

Viktor Chernomyrdin noted that the establishment of the ruble zone "is mutually beneficial—neither one of us wants to exploit the other." The Russian prime minister stated that, by signing the statement, "Russia does not encroach on Belarus' sovereignty. The document is aimed at deepening coordination of our economic activities. All of Europe is developing in the same direction today." The Belarusian prime minister also voiced his viewpoint: "I have always said, and will continue to do so, that the signing of the documents we signed today means saving Belarus' sovereignty. Had we not done this, we would not have preserved our sovereignty."

Opposition on Ruble Zone, CIS Security Agreement

WS1201152094 Minsk CHYRVONAYA ZMENA in
Belarusian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Lilya Hrynyavetskaya: "BNF Sees Perspectives in Elections"]

[Text] Bill Clinton's visit to Minsk and the recent signing of the collective CIS security agreement were the reasons behind a press conference held by the Belarusian Popular Front [BNF].

The two abovementioned events bear such great importance for Belarus (especially the latter one), so different political forces have begun to comment on them. Stanislav Shushkevich, who had long resisted the agreement on collective security and even spoke of holding a referendum on this issue, has suddenly changed his principles and signed the documents, which, according to his own words, may lead to a situation when our boys will be sent to Tajikistan. Zyanon Paznyak [BNF chairman] described the speaker's inconsistency as a desire to avoid his probable dismissal (we would like to recall that the legislative faction Belarus again plans to put the issue of Shushkevich's ouster on the agenda, immediately after the winter holiday). It is not sure whether the legislative majority will praise the speaker for this accomplishment and forgive him his previous inflexibility on this issue. Judging by all signs, BNF is not going to forgive its former supporter for his betrayal of Belarusian interests (as Paznyak described the signing of the treaty).

In the opinion of the opposition, the situation in Belarus has deteriorated considerably recently. This is connected not only with the deep economic crisis, which, according to BNF, was caused by the government's clumsy activities, but also with attempts against the political independence of Belarus.

With the signing of the agreement, the principles providing for Belarus' nonnuclear and neutral status included in our Constitution have been annulled, believes the opposition. Moreover, INTERFAX has disseminated Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich's statement, in which he admitted of possibility of Belarus joining NATO, should Russia do so first. "What is going on," complained Zyanon Paznyak, "first the agreement on collective security, now—NATO?! What about our nonnuclear and neutral status?" (By the way, permanent NATO members do not rush to make room for new members from the former socialist camp. Instead of full NATO membership, they have come forward with the "Partnership for Peace" initiative—a compromise that has been received by East European countries with skepticism).

Belarus should seek Europe's support, stated Paznyak. However, the opposition is to take advantage of the upcoming visit to Belarus by the U.S. President. Clinton will visit Kurapaty and meet with the opposition, possibly, its leader. Furthermore, the latter initiative, according to the opposition, has come from the American side.

In addition to the above-mentioned issues, the opposition touched upon the unification of the Russian and Belarusian monetary systems, which, in the opinion of BNF, has political overtones. They also described the government policy as treacherous, and compared the situation in Belarus to the 18th century partition of Poland. At the end of the conference, Zyanon Paznyak expressed hope that 1994 will be the last year of nomenclatura rule.

Reform Movement Splits at Annual Conference

WS1201170394 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Stepanov under the "Political Zodiac" rubric: "Split in the Movement"]

[Text] This last time around, the annual conference of the Movement for Democratic Reforms—Democratic Belarus [MDBDR] was held behind closed doors. While discussing program goals and tasks, the conference split in two. A group of participants and MDBDR Cochairman Leonid Zlotnikov found their further participation in the conference, as well as in the MDBDR, impossible.

The discord was provoked both by ideological concerns and, according to those who left the conference room, a breach of the agreed-upon time limit. One MDBDR leader, Olga Abramova, who shares the ideas and approaches of the Civic Union in Russia, thinks that the Movement should learn from Volski [leader of the Civic Union in Russia], while Leonid Zlotnikov and his adherents are more inclined to follow the Gaydar line. It is possible, according to a BELAPAN correspondent, that the former members of the MDBDR will join the United Democratic Party of Belarus.

Movement Warns Against Move 'Backward'

WS1201145994 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Stepanov under the "Political Zodiac" rubric: "Constitution Has Not Yet Been Adopted"]

[Text] The Minsk City Council of the Movement for Democracy, Social Progress, and Justice [MDSPJ] has adopted an appeal to people's deputies with regard to the fact that the Belarusian Supreme Soviet is currently discussing the draft of a new constitution without a preliminary resolution on the future social and economic system in our Republic.

The appeal, in particular, reads:

"There are only two possible choices: Exploitation of man by man is either allowed or prohibited... Since many people's deputies are thinking about the restoration of capitalism [as published] in Belarus, we want to draw their attention to the fact that the objective laws of natural and social development exclude the possibility of backward progress. Just as no one can change an old man back into a young one, neither can anyone turn history backward from socialism to capitalism. The inevitable difficulties at such a turn cannot be overcome. They can only bring civil war. To avoid that, we must adopt a course to preserve socialism and eliminate its deformities.

We are sure that the people of Belarus will support us in our effort to preserve and improve socialism, as well as

develop people's democracy at all levels through the soviet system and revise the Belarusian Constitution in this direction."

Self-confidence is not a bad thing. However, with regard to "backward progress," MDSPJ adherents are not quite correct. It is according to Marxist doctrine that a society at certain stages of development can not only move forward but also roll backward. Such phenomena came to happen many, many times. For example, the Tartar-Mongol invasion, the Middle Ages...

Bank Chairman on Monetary Unification Advantages

WS1201144394 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 pp 1,2

[Interview with Stanislaw Bagdankevich, chairman of the Belarusian National Bank, by Valeriy Koribut; place and date not given]

[Text] The upcoming unification of Russian and Belarusian monetary systems is by some regarded with hope, and by others with wariness. However, first hand information on the event is, so to say, in short supply. This is why our newspaper asked the Belarusian National Bank chairman, Stanislaw Bagdankevich, for an interview.

[Koribut] The declaration on the monetary unification signed by the Russian and Belarusian prime ministers last week produced somewhat mixed feelings. On the one hand, it has said that the sides are ready to implement the merger; and on the other hand, the whole range of issues seem quite ambiguous...

[Bahdankevich] This document reflects in the first place a general acceptance of the idea of common currency and the mechanism of the merger itself. At the same time, one should admit that we have failed to reach a consensus on several key issues. The most important of them is the setting of domestic prices for energy sources and basic raw materials on the territory of Russia and Belarus. The Russian side proposed a gradual merger, under which the prices for Belarusian enterprises would be lower than elsewhere in the world, and would be gradually increased for local consumers. The position of the National Bank on this is pretty clear—immediately after the Republic's transition to the Russian ruble, a common mandatory price must be set for energy sources and basic raw materials within a common customs zone. Otherwise, the merger does not make sense since the Belarusian enterprises will prove uncompetitive on the Russian market.

There are disagreements concerning the rate of exchange of the Belarusian ruble to the Russian ruble. We examined several options: the one-to-one rate, a rate calculated on retail prices of the "consumer basket" and on the stock exchange data. The latter is advocated by the Russian Ministries of Economy and Finance. The Russian Central Bank is going to bring up this issue again at one of its board meetings. It should be stated that we

only talked about non-cash money. As for the cash, this topic will be addressed later. I can only say that we were considering the possibility of freezing portions of deposits for different terms. For example, 25 percent of large deposits could be frozen for three, six, and 12 months.

Disputes were also triggered by the mechanisms of financing state budget deficits. It is proposed that Belarus coordinate them with Russia based on the GDP of each state, which is quite a normal procedure. However, the Russian Finance Ministry is inclined to perceive credits earmarked for this purpose as the Belarusian debt to the Russian Federation. We are absolutely against this, seeing them as the government's debt to its population repaid through the pricing system; in our situation—through inflationary mark-ups [inflatsionnaya dobavka] added to retail prices for goods and services.

[Koribut] In our country, reforms in the credit and financial sphere are, as a rule, accompanied by unexpected losses for one and undeserved benefits for the others. Will the National Bank undertake any measures intended to reduce economic losses that might be caused by the upcoming merger?

[Bahdankevich] It is impossible to completely eliminate the possibility of economic problems for specific enterprises—neither through economic nor administrative measures.

One should remember, however, that as a matter of fact, we are talking about revaluation—increasing the value of a currency unit—and, consequently, about advantages of those with cash on hand, and losses for those who took credits. As a result of revaluation, the former will increase their assets, while the latter will have more money to repay. This is why the National Bank demanded quick credit repayments, the sale of ready goods, and the reduction of raw material wastes, etc. Let me emphasize that substantial losses might be incurred by enterprises that converted their bank credits into hard currency in the hope that they would be repaid by the much devaluated Belarusian rubles.

[Koribut] Everyone knows that the National Bank has repeatedly alerted the Supreme Soviet to the need for a gradual and balanced approach to the monetary systems unification. Do you think that many of those fervently advocating the move now will later become its staunchest opponents? First of all, they might be managers who will discover that it is not enough to enter the zone of the ruble—one must also earn it.

[Bahdankevich] At this point, unification displays its positive side. In addition to facilitated and simplified circulation of goods, payment settlements, and travel regulations, there are also macroeconomic advantages, such as the removal of customs duties and the adjustment of domestic prices for raw materials. After all, Russia will remain our prime market for a long time yet.

The negative effects include the Republic's slow pace of market-oriented changes, one-sided dependency on Russian raw materials, and low competitiveness of Belarusian products. Under certain circumstances, they could become dominant, with the present negative payment balance that we run with Russia threatening to crash our enterprises in massive numbers. This is why unification provides no grounds for excessive optimism. This is a chance, but will Belarus manage to grab it?

Moldova

Dniester Request for Moscow Recognition Viewed

AUI201213494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Mircea Dascalu report from Chisinau]

[Text] The parliament of the self-styled Dniester Republic intends to request the support of the deputies of the Russian Federal Assembly, the Chisinau-based INFO-TASS news agency reported today. We hope that our proposal referring to the setting up of a confederation of republics in the Republic of Moldova will be received with understanding, a special appeal adopted by the most recent session of the Tiraspol Supreme Soviet says. The Dniester deputies are complaining about the fact that the Chisinau authorities do not wish to agree to settle the conflict in a mutually acceptable way, INFO-TASS mentions. The document also asks the Russian parliamentarians to recognize, under such circumstances, the Moldovan Dniester Republic as an independent and sovereign state that is a friend of Russia.

Victor Puscasu, the deputy speaker of Moldova's Parliament, assessed that the text of the aforementioned appeal expresses a lack of willingness and the inability of the Tiraspol leaders to settle the Dniester problem at the negotiating table. The setting up of a federation or a confederation of states on the territory of the republic of Moldova is totally out of the question, Puscasu asserted. The Dniester problem can and has to be settled by keeping Moldova united, by granting a special juridical status to the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester River, Puscasu emphasized adding that this position is also supported by the UN, CSCE, and the leadership of Russia and other states.

Today Mr. Slavomir Dabrova, the head of the CSCE mission to the Republic Moldova, taking the floor during the meeting of the Unified Control Commission that had been set up for the Dniester security zone, presented the final decision of the recent Rome meeting of the ministerial council of the CSCE member countries. The document recommends that the Dniester region should be granted a special juridical status, but remain a constituent part of the Republic of Moldova. The Tiraspol members of the unified commission reacted to Dabrova's statement with aloofness saying that the decisions of the CSCE missions are not mandatory for them, MOLDOVA-PRES news agency informs adding that by recent orders of the so-called Dniester Ministry of Interior, the representatives of the CSCE mission are prohibited to travel freely on the territory of the Dniester Republic, including the security zone instated on both banks of the Dniester River.

Kazakhstan

Defense Minister Satisfied With Visit to PRC

LD1201181694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1615 GMT 12 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing January 12 TASS—The Chinese Armed Forces will never act as an aggressor. But they will not tolerate any aggression against China either, Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Central Military Council, Zhang Zhen, said.

The statement was made at Zhen's [as received] meeting with visiting Kazakh Defence Minister Sagadat Nurmagambetov. Zhen said the Chinese Army is based on the concept of active defence and bears full responsibility for the preservation of the socialist system in China.

Nurmagambetov praised the achievements of economic reform in China. The XINHUA news agency quoted him as saying that "we should learn Chinese experience."

The minister expressed satisfaction with the results of his visit the aim of which he formulated before his departure to Beijing as follows: "The establishment of personal contacts with Chinese colleagues and development of friendly relations between the armies of the two countries."

Details of Nurmagambetov's Visit

PM1201132794 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Anatoliy Ladin report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "Defense Ministers Will Meet"]

[Text] At the invitation of Army General Chi Haotian, PRC defense minister, Army General Sagadat Nurmagambetov, defense minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan, will visit China 11-14 January. While in Beijing, the head of Kazakhstan's military department will also meet with Zhang Zhen, deputy chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission.

The talks will cover an exchange of experience in the education and instruction of personnel, the training of cadres, and other problems of military cooperation between the two states, the press service of the defense minister of Kazakhstan has reported.

Military, Space Cooperation With Russia Viewed

LD1201173394 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Report on news conference by Kazakh State adviser Tulegen Zhukeyev on 12 January; place not given]

[Text] State advisor Tulegen Zhukeyev held a news conference on 12 January. He informed Kazakh and

foreign journalists about state of developments in political and military ties between Kazakhstan and Russia. Zhukeyev noted in particular that last year the two countries signed at various levels a package of key documents on broadening military cooperation. Touching upon the use of Baykonur, the state advisor stressed that this important strategic object after the forthcoming summit talks would be likely to be let to the Russian military department [defense ministry].

All work connected with the exploration of space will be conducted in future in the interests of Kazakhstan and Russia. A research space company is intended to be set up in future to work for the benefit of both states. A first step has been taken in restructuring the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site, which has some unique equipment. In addition, the idea of organizing a national nuclear center in Kazakhstan was discussed.

Zhukeyev said that between Kazakhstan and Russia a complete mutual understanding has been reached concerning building of military and political ties. This once more vividly shows that our two countries do not have a single problem which it were not possible to tackle on the basis of good will.

Dual Citizenship, State Language Issues Viewed

PM1201162194 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Still No Dual Citizenship in Kazakhstan, but Society Already Split in Disputes Over It"]

[Text] The question of the possibility of some Kazakhstanis' acquiring dual citizenship is still a subject of discussion in the republic's mass media. The newspaper ABC [literally ABV—first three letters of Cyrillic alphabet], published by the "Karavaninform" Joint-Stock Company, reports that the Sokolovsk-Sarbay Production Association collective sent an appeal to Kazakhstan's president which, in addition to economic demands, raised the questions of dual citizenship, the recognition of Russian (a language of international communication) as a state language together with Kazakh, and the appropriate amendment of Kazakhstan's Constitution.

Yermukhamet Yertysbayev, secretary of the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan Political Executive Committee, answering questions asked by the sociopolitical newspaper RESPUBLIKA's [as transliterated] correspondent, stressed the need for state bilingualism in Kazakhstan. At the same time he voiced the view that the dual citizenship initiative should come from Russia and Kazakhstan at once. "If Russians living in Kazakhstan want this," Yermukhamet Yertysbayev believes, "Kazakhs living in Russia should be accorded similar rights."

However, there is also a totally different view of the matter. Some experts predict that dual citizenship could prove not an advantage but grounds for restricting rights.

By becoming a Russian citizen a person, as it were, ceases to be a "committed" Kazakhstani. Hence the authorities' attitude to him may be that of a potential "foreign visitor." And problems may crop up at work: Should a person, say, be allowed access to state secrets and his career rise encouraged if he is also a citizen of another state?

During the election campaign in Kazakhstan the questions of state bilingualism and dual citizenship will most likely be used by candidate deputies to win over voters.

Almaty Offers To Lease Baykonur to Russia

LD1201214294 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT 12 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The question of Baykonur has come up again. In Almaty today, Kazakh State Secretary Tulegen Zhukeyev held a briefing on the problem of the Baykonur cosmodrome. During the briefing, Zhukeyev said Kazakhstan was prepared to lease the Baykonur cosmodrome and three military test sites to Russia for seven billion dollars per year. He said Russia has not yet responded to this proposal.

It is much easier to reach agreement with the United States and Iran than with Russia, Zhukeyev said. Efforts to resolve the Baykonur problem were begun during the recent visit to Almaty by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. The construction of a new cosmodrome is not a realistic option for Russia, and Kazakhstan spends up to three billion [currency not specified] on Baykonur every year. Therefore, Zhukeyev considers, it would be a good idea to receive from Russia military equipment at prices acceptable to our ally in compensation for this money.

In regards to the Russian military departments that are seeking to legitimize the permanent stationing of their units in Kazakhstan, the republic's leadership considers that this is incorrect. How can we explain this to Kazakh citizens, who are still afraid of the Russian empire, Zhukeyev asked. He acknowledged, however, that Russia was the center of the CIS and that its strategic interests should be taken into account.

Tajikistan

State of Emergency Extended for 6 Months

LD1201133994 Moscow TIA-TASS World Service in Russian 1312 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By TIA correspondent Negmat Ochilov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 Jan—The Supreme Council Presidium of the Republic of Tajikistan has extended its decree of 6 January 1993 "On the introduction of a state of emergency in Dushanbe, the town of Tursunzade and its rayon, Shakhrynayskiy, Gissarskiy, Leninskiy, and

Varzobskiy rayons, as well as the town of Kofarnikhon and its rayon for six months, until 8 June 1994." This measure was taken in order to stabilize the situation, establish the rule of law, and ensure the security of citizens, on the basis of Article 108 of the Constitution of Tajikistan.

Roads to Dushanbe Reportedly Blocked by Fighting

LD1201170694 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0900 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The rumors about the blockade of the roads leading to the city of Dushanbe by Regarskiy and Gissarskiy fighting groups have been confirmed.

According to the report by Sharif Rrahmonpur, a KHO-RASAN news agency correspondent in Dushanbe city, the confrontation between the government and Safarali Kenjayev, the former parliament speaker, who is at the head of Regarskiy and Gissarskiy formations, is growing day by day.

The blockade of the roads leading to the capital and clashes between these formations and Kulyab fighters are evidence of that.

The correspondent reports that a clash took place between the fighting sides near the village of Almaasi of Gissarskiy Rayon on Monday.

According to available information, the fighters of Regarskiy and Gissarskiy demand the resignation of Abdulmajid Dostiyev [first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council], Yokubjon Salimov [internal affairs minister], and [Saydamir] Zukhurov [National Security Committee chairman], the representatives of Kulyab Oblast, and restoration of Safarali Kenjayev to his former post [Supreme Council chairman].

Border 'Armed Provocations' Become More Frequent

LD1301001994 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 12 Jan 94

[From the "Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] According to reports from Tajikistan, since the beginning of January armed provocations on certain sections of the Tajik-Afghan border have become much more frequent, first and foremost, in the assigned area of responsibility of the Moscow and Pyandzh detachments of the Russian border troops. Posts and outposts periodically come under unprovoked fire from Afghan territory.

In the last five days the border guards of the Pyandzh border detachment stopped three attempts of armed groups of mojahedin of the Tajik opposition to break through the border from Afghanistan. Fortunately, there have been no losses among the Russian servicemen.

Rakhmanov Calls On 'Compatriots' To Return

LD1201190394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridnevadushanbe]

[Text] January 12 TASS—An address by Tajik leader Emomali Rakhmonov to his compatriots outside Tajikistan was released here on Wednesday. The address says, in particular, that "we hope that you, our dear compatriots abroad, will take an active part in Tajikistan's future political and economic life. The Tajik leadership is ready to create all necessary conditions for you to return". The document notes that at present the republic was taking efforts to stabilize the internal situation, and every Tajik citizen should contribute to the flourishing of this ancient land. Fruitful negotiations with the republic's different political forces have been under way for several months already. Now it is necessary to discuss comprehensively Tajikistan's new constitution and put it to a nationwide popular vote.

Zuhurov Views Rakhmonov's Letter to UN

LD1201143794 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] A letter by Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state, to the UN secretary general is at the center of attention of workers.

In my opinion, the concern of Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state, which is described in his letter is clear to everyone, said Shukur Zuhurov, the minister of labor and employment, in his interview to a KHOVAR news agency correspondent.

According to our available information more than 30,000 of our compatriots who have had to flee their places of residence are in the territories of neighboring Afghanistan. It should be said that the present situation in Afghanistan is very complicated. The armed clashes between the different political forces are continuing here. These clashes are taking place in those areas where the Tajik refugees live. That is why their situation is very difficult.

In addition to this, the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is not calm. Is it possible to return home in such a situation? That is why I think that Imamali Rakhmanov has sent the letter to the UN secretary general at the right time. The authority of the United Nations is high all over the world. And we hope that thanks to the active assistance of this organization the bloodshed will be stopped in Afghanistan and the return of the Tajik refugees will be possible.

Turkmenistan

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Pakistan

LD1001165694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1615 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By TURKMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Anna Kurbanova]

[Text] Ashgabat, 10 January—The signing of an agreement on cooperation between the foreign political departments of the two states was the main result of Pakistani Foreign Minister Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali's visit to Turkmenistan which has ended. A communique circulated here today says that possibilities of building a Turkmenistan-Pakistan gas pipeline via Afghanistan were examined at the talks, too.

The Pakistani minister was received by Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov, who confirmed his agreement to pay an official visit to Pakistan in early February.

Uzbekistan

Trade, Economic Accords Signed With Kazakhstan

PM1201154994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Shakhbutoidin Zaynutdinov report: "Uzbekistan and Kazakhstani Form Single Economic Area"]

[Text] Tashkent—Talks between President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan have ended in Tashkent with the signing of a package of eight joint declarations aimed at surmounting obstacles in trade and economic relations and deepening and expanding bilateral economic cooperation.

In particular, a treaty on the creation of a single economic area (all existing barriers will now be removed) and intergovernmental agreements on regional banks—a foreign currency bank and a clearing bank—were signed. These and other documents, as the two leaders pointed out at a news conference, are designed to ensure the free movement of goods, services, capital, and manpower, as well as the implementation of a concerted credit-clearing, budget, tax, price, customs, and currency policy between the two states.

A special agreement records Uzbekistan's debts to Kazakhstan, amounting to more than \$39 million, as a state credit. It is envisaged that this debt will be repaid this year by means of additional deliveries of natural gas, electricity, and textile products. Kazakhstan in turn will sell to its neighbor 2 million tonnes of grain, 600,000 tonnes of coal, and 260,000 tonnes of rolled metal, cast iron, ferroalloys, and refined copper.

Armenia

Border Shelling, Karabakh Fighting Detailed

NC1201195794 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1705 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Jan (ARMENPRES)—Following a brief lull, the Azerbaijani Army committed yet another provocation on the Armenian border yesterday evening. It used tanks, armored cars and firearms to shell the Tavushskiy Rayon center Berd, a number of villages, and defensive positions in that rayon at around 1600. The Armenian border guards retaliated. The armed formations in Nakhichevan also became active on the same day. The border positions in Megrinskii Rayon came under periodic shelling from howitzers and other weapons. There were no casualties on the Armenian side in Tavushskiy and Megrinskii rayons.

The Azerbaijani troops opened machine gun fire today on the defensive positions around Kirants in Idzhevan-skii Rayon. The Armenian side retaliated in kind. The exchange of fire was still continuing at 1700.

There is no end to the military operations in Karabakh conflict zone. Having halted all the attacks of the enemy and successfully completed a military maneuver, the Karabakh Defense Army subunits surrounded an Azerbaijani battalion near Hakob-Kamari in Mardakertskii Rayon yesterday evening and killed 46 soldiers. The Armenian fighters took control of a number of strategic heights previously occupied by the enemy.

According to the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army press service, the Azerbaijani troops also suffered huge losses in other sectors of the front extending from Mardakertskii Rayon to the Iranian border, where their losses amounted to three battalions—that is, 270 soldiers and officers killed.

Six were killed and 15 injured on Karabakh side during the combat operations on 11 January.

Despite huge losses, the Azerbaijani Army resumed its attacks today all along the war front.

Vice President Holds Talks With Iranians

NC1201214894 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan left for Zangezur [southern Armenia] where an extraordinary session of the state commission coordinating Armenian-Iranian ties is being held.

Armenian presidential press service reported that Gagik Arutyunyan, accompanied by the rayon leadership, held a meeting with the directors of the enterprises in Megrinskii Rayon. They examined matters pertaining to the development of the Armenian-Iranian economic ties.

After that, a session of the state commission coordinating Armenian-Iranian ties was held in Megri.

Morteza Bank, head of the Eastern Europe and CIS Department at the Iranian Foreign Ministry, and Ahmad Sobhani, the Iranian charge d'affaires in Armenia, took part on the Iranian side.

The meeting discussed matters relating to the construction of the bridge over Araks River, and the regulation of communications, border trade, and customs procedures, including the coordination of the work of the customs departments of the two countries.

Morteza Bank stressed in particular that Iran has considerable experience in organizing border trade and it could substantially contribute to the organization of similar trade with Armenia. He was also positively disposed to Armenian side's proposal to open an Armenian mission in Tabriz.

The sides agreed to organize such meetings frequently. Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan stressed that this would speed up the work to develop the bilateral ties.

Gagik Arutyunyan also held a separate meeting with Morteza Bank and Ahmad Sobhani.

Parliament Approves Privatization Program

NC1201200494 Yerevan SNARK in English 1336 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, January 12 (SNARK)—Today the Armenian Parliament accepted the 1994 privatization program suggested by the Armenian Government. There will be privatized the units of the uncompleted construction, agriculture, trade and public service.

Speaking to the extraordinary session of the Armenian Parliament the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan accepted the fact that the Republic is essentially behind of the privatization process. "Armenia did only two serious 'steps' in privatization—there were privatized only flats and land", Levon Ter-Petrosyan declared.

According to Levon Ter-Petrosyan, "the expected 1994 privatization of the state enterprises won't influence the Armenian economy because of the small volumes".

President To Nominate New Central Bank Head

NC1101204494 Yerevan SNARK in English 1342 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, January 11 (SNARK)—Confidential sources told SNARK tomorrow at the extraordinary session of the Armenian Parliament the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will suggest new candidature for the position of the head of the Central Bank of Armenia. He wants his fellow-fighter Bagrat Asatryan, one of the active doers of the leading Armenian National Movement [Armenian Pannational Movement] party, [to] hold a post instead of the existing Chairman of the Central Bank Isahak Isahakyan. Armen Darbinyan, a representative of the Armenian National Movement,

deputy Head of the Economic Department, is expected for the position of the deputy head of the Central Bank of Armenia.

Experts are of the opinion that in many respects the political reasons caused changes in the Central Bank directors. Isahak Isahakyan holds the position for a period of 10 years and is the only representative of the old, the so-called communist nomenclature within the new leadership. His experience—the experience of professional and often an obstinate banker—was necessary till the Republic was in direct dependence on Russia. The national currency introduction brought to no necessity of such a dependence. Besides, the last-week debates on the Central Bank's submission to the Armenian Government showed that the Armenian Government wants to control over the Central Bank's activity.

Names Asaturyan

NC1201203594 Yerevan SNARK in English 1527 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, January 12 (SNARK)—One of the active figures of the party at power, that is Armenian National [Pannational] Movement, Bagrat Asaturyan was elected as a new Chairman of the Central Bank of Armenia. Earlier he headed a parliamentary commission on social aspects and health care. A 38-year-old economist, graduate of the Yerevan Institute of National Economy, worked at the Institute of Economy of the National Academy of Sciences for a long period of time, defended a thesis for a candidate decree. President Levon Ter-Petrosyan who submitted the candidature of a new head of the Central Bank informed at the parliament session that Asaturyan "took an active part in arrangements concerning money exchange in Nagorno-Karabakh at the end of the last year".

Armen Darbinyan, the former Head of the "Armenintorg" enterprise, was elected as the first deputy of the Head of the Central Bank of Armenia.

Law Affects Currency Violation Regulations

NC1101220194 Yerevan SNARK in English 1550 GMT 11 Jan 94

["Joint Statement of the Ministry of Finance and Central Bank of Armenia"]

[Text] Yerevan, January 11 (SNARK)—The juridical and natural persons on the territory of Armenia, who use foreign currency, including Russian rubles, for paying operations and haven't the license of the Central Bank of Armenia, will be prosecuted and may condemn to three-year imprisonment. Press-Center of the Central Bank informs SNARK about it.

Simultaneously it is said in the statement on the territory of Armenia the legal means for paying are the notes of the State Bank of the USSR of 1961-1992 with value till 500 rubles and Armenian drams of 1993 with value 10, 25, 50, 100, 200, 500 drams.

Azerbaijan

Karabakh Repels Azeri Airborne Attack

LD1201150494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan—After a long break, Azeri Air Force assault aircraft today again appeared in the skies above Stepanakert. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told on the phone by the press service of the headquarters of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Army that in the afternoon, two assault aircraft tried to bomb Stepanakert, but after response actions by Karabakh anti-aircraft forces, they were forced to leave the airspace of Nagorno-Karabakh. But today the Azeri forces' offensive on most sections of the front continued.

According to a report by the press service of the military department, on Tuesday evening [11 January], subunits of the Karabakh Defense Army repulsed all attacks and maneuvered successfully, managing to surround a group of the Azeri Army in the area of the village of Akop Kamari in the north of Mardakertskiy [Mardakert] Rayon. Forty-six Azeri soldiers were killed and control was reestablished over a number of heights previously seized by the enemy. In the course of repulsing the attacks on other sections of the front, three infantry companies (up to 270 men and officers) of the Azeri National Army were destroyed, mainly by well-aimed artillery fire.

The Karabakh side's losses amounted to six killed and 15 wounded.

Losses Claim Refuted

LD1201155994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Karabakh troops killed 46 Azerbaijani soldiers on Tuesday after it surrounded an Azerbaijani unit in the Mardakert region, northern Karabakh.

A spokesman for the Army of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has told Interfax that yet another 270 Azerbaijani servicemen have been put out of action on other fronts.

Meanwhile, Karabakh has regained control over a number of strategic heights, earlier captured by Azerbaijan.

The Karabakh Army's casualties on Tuesday were estimated at 6 killed and 15 wounded.

By latest reports from Stepanakert, Azerbaijani troops mounted an offensive virtually on all fronts on Wednesday. Bitter fighting is under way.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan's Defence Ministry has refuted as false Armenia's reports about Azerbaijan's heavy casualties in the fighting.

It contended that last week's Azerbaijani losses in both man power and material were much smaller than Armenia's damage.

A ministry spokesman estimated Armenia's losses in the Mardakert region where Azerbaijani troops ringed two Karabakh battalions on Tuesday at 30 men and three tanks.

Yet another 35 Armenian soldiers reportedly lost their lives in fighting on the Askeran and Agdam fronts and in the Fizuli region, Azerbaijan. Several tanks and artillery guns were smashed.

Armenian Attacks Being Repulsed

NC1201174294 Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The Defense Ministry press service reports the following for 12 January:

The Armenian military units tried to launch an offensive on 11 January in the Hakop-Kamari [Lulasaz] sector of the front that lies towards Terter. The enemy, who launched three attacks during the day, suffered considerable losses in men and material and had to withdraw.

Our brave soldiers have brought to naught every Armenian offensive in Agdamskiy and Beylagan rayons.

The high command of the Armenian Armed Forces, whose attacks towards Beylagan and Terter were defeated, is now working to exacerbate the situation on our republic's northwestern borders. The settlements in our republic's Tauzskiy, Kazakhskiy, and Kedabekskiy rayons came under unceasing long-range artillery shelling at 1830 on 11 January from Armenia's Berd, Idzhevskiy, and Krasnoselskiy rayons. Our army units took countermeasures to silence the ferocious enemy.

Armenians Continue Shelling

LD1201180894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1727 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 12 Jan—From the territory of Armenia the settlements of Kazakhskiy, Kedabekskiy, and Tauzskiy Rayons, situated in the northwest of Azerbaijan are being subjected to intensive missile and artillery fire. Considerable damage has been caused, there are fatalities, the daily report of the Azeri Defense Ministry says.

According to military department data, today's military operations by the sides did not on the whole change the situation on the front. Considerable losses in manpower and equipment by the Armenian side are also reported.

'Trench Fightings' Detailed

NC1201212594 Baku TURAN in English 1735 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Baku (January 12) TURAN—The intensity of assault abated at all the sectors of the front, a military source reports. Therefore, the fightings at the northern, southern and central sectors of the front are qualified as trench fightings.

Together with this, the villages of Matagiz and Lulasaz [Hakop-Kamari] in the northern Karabakh are under the control of Azerbaijani army. A high-ranking official at the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry rejected all the yesterday's reports of Armenian sources about the tremendous losses of Azerbaijani army there. He also said, that the fightings for the hills in the vicinity of the town of Agdere (Mardakert) go on at this direction.

The situation at the central (Agdam) and southern (Fizuli) sectors of the front are characterised by artillery duels and local fightings.

UN, Swiss Humanitarian Assistance Noted

NC1101223694 Baku TURAN in English 1618 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Baku, January 11 (TURAN)—A large amount of humanitarian assistance from Switzerland—240 thousand tons of wheat flour is to be delivered to Azerbaijan in the near future. On New Year's Eve, Azerbaijan received 580 tons of wheat flour from Switzerland.

The shipment of assistance from Switzerland to Azerbaijan has been going on since December 29, 1993. The UN World Food Program (UNWFP) organized the delivery of 27 tons of food parcels from Switzerland to Azerbaijan. Prior to that, 39 tons of food were delivered for Azerbaijani refugees and displaced persons by the UNWFP.

The United Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and its Humanitarian Assistance Commission will begin the distribution of assistance following the delivery of the last lot.

In addition, TURAN NEWS AGENCY was told at the UNO [United Nations Organization] Office in Azerbaijan that 6 containers, each of which include 20 tons of food, arrived. These goods were given to Azerbaijan by the European Community. An additional 314 containers will be delivered to Azerbaijan under the aegis of the European Community Assistance Programme in the near future.

Lala Gadzhieva Appointed UN Ambassador

NC1201175094 Baku AZERTAC in English 1659 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Baku, January 12 (AZERTAC)—One of the key officials of President Aliyev's team, 43 year old Lala Shovket Gadzhieva, M.D., who has held a position of

the state secretary for the last half year, was given a position of permanent representative of Azerbaijan to the United Nations. [Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziya Television Network in Azeri at 1600 GMT on 12 January, in a similar report adds: "The Azerbaijan president's decree conferred on her the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary."]

A number of analysts from opposing political currents consider this appointment exclusion from power, as the former secretary of state has not been agreed with the personnel policy. The same analysts suppose that Minister of Foreign Affairs Gassan Gassanov and chairman of the National Independence Party of Azerbaijan Etibar Mamedov are two possible candidates to the state secretary vacancy. Gassan Gassanov is known as president's comrade-in-arms, and the national harmony might be the major factor dictating Etibar Mamedov's appointment. The state secretary position was offered to Etibar Mamedov last summer.

Georgia

Parliament Debates Joining Ruble Zone

NC1201183494 Yerevan SNARK in English 1105 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, January 12 (SNARK)—Today the Georgian Parliament goes on discussing a statement of Vakhtang Goguadze about the necessity of Georgia's entrance to the rouble zone. Yesterday parliamentarians and government officials expressed their opinion of that. The opposition, including Nodar Natadze, the leader of the National Front, considers Georgia's entrance to the rouble zone as a loss of independence.

Vice-Premier Amiran Kadagishvili in his statement doubted that Russia would accept Georgia to the rouble zone. In the opinion of the Georgian Finance Minister David Jakobidze, the concurrent introduction of the Russian rouble and the Georgian coupon is necessary.

In the interview to the SNARK reporter Nodar Djavakhishvili said that Russia proposes unacceptable terms. He is of the opinion that monetary and credit emission is to be cut down, the budget deficit should be minimal and crediting has to be stopped.

Russia Agrees on Return

LD1301132194 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1115 GMT 13 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 Jan—An Iberia correspondent learned that the Russian Government has notified the Georgian authorities through unofficial sources that Russia has agreed to accept Georgia in the ruble zone provided Georgia agrees to the following terms:

1. To refuse foreign assets;

2. to hand over to Russia goldmines or pawn Georgia's state property in an exchange for the amount of imported Russian rubles;

3. to refuse carrying out its own credit emissions;

4. the Russian Government is to confirm the state budget [as heard];

5. to annul all economic laws and introduce laws adopted by Russia on the territory of Georgia;

6. to annul the Georgian customs system and merge it with the Russian customs office;

7. the Russian Government is to appoint one of the vice presidents of the National Bank of Georgia.

Shevardnadze Heads Delegation to Turkey

LD1201130594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1102 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] A Georgian delegation, led by Eduard Shevardnadze, left for an official visit to Turkey on Wednesday. It includes the Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaydze, the Interior Minister Shote Kvaria, and the Minister for Industry Tenghiz Geleishvili [as received].

On the way to Turkey, the plane landed at Batumi, where the delegation was joined by Aslan Abashidze, the Chairman of Ajaria's Supreme Soviet.

Abashidze has told Interfax that he intends to discuss with Turkish leaders plans to invest in Ajaria's economy, modernize Batumi's docks, and supply electricity to the republic.

During the visit, Eduard Shevardnadze is to meet with Turkey's President Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, the Parliament's Chairman Husamettin Jindoruk, and the opposition leader Mesut Olmaz.

The sides are to sign a political declaration on the principles of relations and development prospects, a protocol on relations between the parliaments of the two countries, agreements on custom regulations, on cooperation in economy, trade, and agriculture, and separate accords on contacts in science and technology, in culture, tourism, and sports.

Delegation Meets With Demirel

LD1201214694 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1622 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Here is news from Georgia. Here is what Zurab Dvali, correspondent of the independent agency IPRINDA reports from Tbilisi by telephone:

[Dvali] This morning a Georgian Government delegation headed by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze left by plane for a two-day visit to Turkey.

In the course of this summit meeting, a large package of economic agreements and also of cooperation in the sphere of culture and tourism will be signed. The plane stopped over in Batumi where the government delegation was joined by Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic of Ajaria.

Also today, a meeting took place between the Georgian Government delegation and Turkey's President Suleyman Demirel.

Meanwhile, in the republic's parliamentary building, the meeting continued between Speaker Vakhtang Goguaдзе and deputies who are interested in his proposal regarding Georgia joining the ruble zone. The parliamentarians listened with great interest to the address by the republic's former Deputy Prime Minister Roman Gotsiridze, who analyzed the situation regarding the Georgian coupon. He stated that he is amazed by the statement by the head of state that the introduction in the republic of coupons has been a hasty and erroneous decision. Gotsiridze said that he himself had taken a direct part in the talks with Russia and that he is certain that Georgia would never receive Russian money and would not be able to join the ruble zone. In this way, according to him, putting the Georgian coupon into circulation was the only way out of the situation that had arisen. What is more, according to the former deputy prime minister, Russia will never give Georgia the promised technical credit. Gotsiridze stressed that in his view, Georgia is being run by a technocratic lobby made up of party functionaries and the armed mafia. It is they who have organized this unprecedented hyperinflation, which in the final analysis will result in the establishment in Georgia of an authoritarian regime, the former deputy prime minister remarked at the end of his speech.

The speeches made by the opposition-minded deputies were of approximately the same content. The only thing that is amazing, as local observers note, is the fact that for the time being no one has asked Russia itself whether it would agree to Georgia joining the ruble zone.

Gamsakhurdia's Family Agrees to Post Mortem

LD1201164594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The family of Zviad Gamsakhurdia has agreed to a post mortem examination of the body of the Georgian ex-president, who committed suicide on the night from December 31 to January 1 in Western Georgia. The examination must be held with international observers, Interfax learnt from sources in the Georgian Prosecutor General's Office.

A Georgian Security Ministry spokesman has told Interfax that the arrival in the republic of international experts and members of the Gamsakhurdia family is possible shortly.

Zviadists who control the village of Djikhashkari in western Georgia where Gamsakhurdia is presumably buried are not so far allowing representatives of the present authorities or journalists to the village.

The village is guarded, Interfax was told, by a large group of Zviadists who are armed with tanks, artillery pieces and rocket launchers.

As it has become known to Interfax from unofficial sources, representatives of the Georgian authorities are negotiating the issue with Zviadists. The talks have provided no results yet because the authorities demand the extradition of Gamsakhurdia's body and Zviadists' disarmament.

Gamsakhurdia Said 'Alive and Well' in Helsinki

LD1201195694 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1815 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The IPRINDA agency has reported a conversation between its correspondent and (Mzia Shagvashide), chief editor of a KAVKAZKIYE NOVOSTI, a Zviadist newspaper published in Nalchik. (Shagvashide) said that she had learned from well-informed sources that Georgian ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia is alive and well and living in Helsinki. In her opinion, the statements about the death of the ex-president were simple deception. In the near future (?there will be a meeting). Well, let's see.

Gas Pipeline Heavily Damaged in Explosion

LD1201181894 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] According to a NeGa agency report, the damage from the explosion yesterday on the Georgian section of the pipeline providing gas to Armenia is greater than that caused by earlier acts of sabotage. Some 800 meters of the main trunk line were put out of action, the bridge over the Kura River was destroyed, and the back-up pipeline was badly damaged. As is known, as a result of the earlier acts of sabotage, no gas has been pumped to Armenia since 18 December. Experts believe that it will be a month before the gas pipeline is back in service, since the approaches to the damaged area have been mined. The Armenian side is blaming a subversive group from Azerbaijan for the sabotage.

Government Adopts Decree on Electric Power

*AU1301105294 Tbilisi First Program Television
Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] The Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a decree on the supply of fuel and electric power to economic complexes and the population during the first three months of 1994. According to this decree, a reduction in the supply of thermal power and the economical use of existing fuel and power resources are viewed as a task of particular importance. The appropriate institutions and departments are entrusted with

reducing street lighting and all kinds of neon advertising by 50 percent and regulating independent sources of electric power.

According to the decree, schedules for the supply, production, use, and allocation of gas and electric power have to be established. The 5,000 tonnes of (?kerosene) that has arrived in the form of humanitarian aid from Japan is to be taken into consideration.

It is stated in the decree that, in addition to local administrative bodies, the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense should ensure the protection of electric power installations in Georgia.

Estonia**Commission Chairmen on Cooperation With NATO***WS1301105294 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0800 GMT 13 Jan 94*

[From 13 January RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Thursday, January 13—"We cannot express our disappointment with the NATO summit. We have done too little to attract the interest of the NATO," head of the Riigikogu [parliament] defence commission Rein Helme said.

He added that Estonia has problems with regional cooperation and pointed out the border issues with Russia. Admission to the NATO is impossible in case of such problems, which will have to be either solved or frozen, Helme said.

As for the appeal of the Lithuanian president, Helme commented that consultations between parliaments and governments would have been necessary, since the issue concerns the entire nation.

The Riigikogu foreign affairs commission is waiting official documents from Brussels, commission chairman Vello Saatpalu said. Saatpalu expressed his amazement at Prime Minister Mart Laar's announcement that Estonia is ready to appeal to Brussels in the nearest future, complaining that the foreign affairs commission had again been excluded from the making of vital decisions. Saatpalu added that this and other incidents indicate a movement from the rule of law to a state of administration.

New Foreign, Defense Ministers Appointed*PM1201130994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1*

[Report by Captain First Rank Valeriy Gromak: "Young Journalists Become Ministers"]

[Text] The Estonian president has appointed Juri Luik, the country's former defense minister, as foreign minister. His post has been taken by Indrek Kannik, hitherto an adviser to the foreign minister. Evidently Juri Luik will leave his post as head of delegation at the talks with Russia, since, according to the Estonian side, his new post will not allow him to conduct talks with "a mere ambassador of the Russian Federation."

Luik and Kannik are recent graduates from the Tartu University Journalism Faculty and members of the Estonian student community; they are 27 years old, and have not yet settled down to married life.

New Finance Minister Comments on Plans*WS1101211494 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1934 GMT 11 Jan 94*

[Text] The new Minister of Finance Heiki Kranich told ETA, on Tuesday, that he intended to continue the processes that Madis Urike started during his term as minister.

Kranich said that the Ministry of Finance had achieved "a lot of positive" and largely carried out the tax reform when Urike was the minister.

Kranich said that no parallels could be drawn with the work of the Ministry of Economics, which, in spite of "great fuss" had managed to prepare only two bills that have reached the Riigikogu [parliament], both of them causing certain problems.

Kranich said that the coming weeks would be needed to acquaint himself with the work of the Ministry, for he had no "clear idea of its condition."

Court Rejects Special Rights for Police*WS1201203194 Tallinn BNS in English 1638 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Tartu, Estonia, Jan 12, BNS - The Estonian State Court today ruled to declare null and void the government regulations and amendments to the police law which legalized the usage of special means of surveillance by the country's security police.

The State Court in the ruling says such means of police surveillance and their usage as stipulated by the government regulations may restrict the citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms.

The police law amendments allowed for special means, such as phone-tapping and reading of citizens' letters, to be used by the Defense Police in some cases. The amendments law, however, also stipulated that such means could be used only following a respective permission from the head of the State Court or a State Court member to whom the court's head has referred the powers to issue such permission.

The amendments, originally meant to remain in effect until the adoption of a separate law, left it largely with security police officials and one State Court member to determine what means of investigation and police surveillance were to be regarded as special measures and in which cases these were to be used.

The Estonian parliament passed the police law amendments on April 21, 1993.

The chancellor of law, Eerik-Juhan Truuvali, first referred to constitutional stipulations and requested that the parliament annulled the amendments. Truuvali sought a State Court ruling on the issue after the parliament made no move toward bringing the law into accordance with the constitution.

Both rulings adopted by the State Court today are effective immediately on adoption, final, and cannot be referred to any other court of appeal.

The Defense Police on several occasions recently has obtained from the State Court the right to use extraordinary means of surveillance. For instance, Defense Police tapped the phones of some members of the so-called Pullapaa volunteer infantry company during last summer's crisis, when the unit had announced its independence from the defense forces Main Staff.

The prosecution service law, a legislation designed to finally regulate the usage of special means of police surveillance, has by now passed the first reading in the parliament. According to the draft, permission to use phone-tapping in investigation has to be sought from administrative courts.

Parliament Approves Property Compensation

WS1201202994 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1645 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Estonia's Riigikogu [parliament] on Wednesday adopted amendments to law on compensating illegally expropriated property which will enable people who owned property at the other side of Estonian-Russian administrative border receive compensation for Soviet-time nationalisation.

Votes in the parliament split 35:4 with 12 abstentions.

Until now, Estonia did not pay compensation for property that was illegally expropriated at territories that under 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty between Estonia and Russia belong to Estonia, but are now under Russian jurisdiction. Liia Hanni, the Minister of Reform, said.

Under Estonian ownership reform law, properties that lie in Petserimaa and across Narva river will be assessed by land commissions of Viru and Ida-Viru counties respectively.

Moderates Hold News Conference on Cabinet Crisis

WS1301105894 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0800 GMT 13 Jan 94

[From 13 January PAEVALEHT, p 1]

[Text] Thursday, January 13—The Moderate faction of the Riigikogu [parliament] held a news conference yesterday on the recent crisis around the appointment of ministers.

Rural Centrist Ivar Raig, Social Democrat Ardo Ojasalu and faction member Heiki Nestor claimed that President Lennart Meri is provided with false information. They explained their claim with the president's opposition to the replacement of former Economy Minister Toomas Sildmae. Raig claimed that the actual situation was exactly opposite to what Meri had said, stressing that the

ministry had not submitted a single original draft law to the Riigikogu. He also rejected the president's accusations that the prime minister was building an administrative state. The presidential chancellery has placed the president in an unpleasant situation, he said.

Heiki Nestor claimed that economic circles are exerting pressure on the president, while Ardo Ojasalu regretted the descent "on the level of everyday politics". Raig added that Toomas Sildmae was the only winner in the conflict.

The Moderates also commented on the possibility of a breakup of their faction, claiming that an agreement had been achieved, according to which no breakup will take place in the nearest three months. This was done as a favour to the independent faction members who would have had to make their choice in a short time otherwise.

Latvia

Reaction to Russian Generals' Detention

Prime Minister Apologizes

WS1201134494 Tallinn BNS in English 1047 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 12, BNS—Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs apologized to Russia for the Jan. 10 detention of two Russian generals, speaking Tuesday [11 January] in the presence of foreign diplomats and reporters in the Cabinet building.

Birkavs conceded that the incident harmed relations between Latvia and Russia. Its authors were thoughtful enough to choose the most advantageous moment for a provocation, taking into account the coincidence of the Latvian-Russian withdrawal talks, the NATO summit and President Bill Clinton's East European trip, said Birkavs.

Latvia will do all it can to remove the incident's consequences and avert similar misdeeds in the future, said the premier.

Birkavs also acquainted the meeting with resolutions approved in last night's emergency session of the Latvian Cabinet.

The prime minister said that it was possible to prognosticate the incident but it was impossible to prevent it because of the legislative drawbacks. Last night's resolutions at least allow for the prosecution of the responsible persons, Birkavs said.

Latvian Foreign Minister Goergs Andrejevs said he hoped that Russia would not draw a link between the incident and the Latvian official policies.

Interior Minister Girts Kristovskis noted that Latvia's military structures were "haphazardly arranged" because of various historical and political circumstances.

The National Security Council finished to define rights and duties of armed formations Monday, Kristovskis added.

The Russian response was "adequate to the status quo of bilateral relations," said Birkavs. The Latvian Foreign Ministry prepared an answer to the Russian Government on the yesterday's conflict, Birkavs concluded.

Foreign Ministry Sends Apologies

LD1201160594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] On Wednesday the Latvian Foreign Ministry handed over a note addressed to the Russian Foreign Ministry and containing apologies for the incident with Russian servicemen and diplomats to the Russian Embassy in Riga.

The document says that "with the sanction of several officials of Riga's local government bodies and under their direct participation, on January 10, 1994, illegal actions were undertaken with respect to Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh and Major Generals Nikolay Taylakov and Anatoliy Vodopyanov who serve in the Northern-Western Group of Forces."

The generals were detained by the municipal police and, accompanied by the guard, were sent in the direction of the Russian-Latvian border to be deported from Latvia. The generals were freed according to the private order of the president of the Latvian Republic.

Latvia's Foreign Ministry offers its apologies for this action.

The Foreign Ministry explains that a preliminary investigation was conducted due to the above mentioned incident; as a result, the Cabinet of Ministers passed a decision to release chairman of the local government body in Riga's Vidzemskiy region Andreis Rucs from his post; the Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian Republic has launched proceedings due to abuse of official authorities on the part of Rucs.

Given the fact that these actions were committed on the eve of the inter-state talks, the Latvian party views this event as an attempt by Latvian circles to hinder process of the negotiations and to worsen Russian-Latvian relations.

The document says that the Government of the Latvian Republic will do its utmost to prevent identical acts of provocative nature and notes that in the future all issues related to the Russian forces' withdrawal will be solved by means of negotiations.

Rita Aksenoka, aide to Latvia's Prosecutor General, told Interfax that on Wednesday Andreis Rucs voluntarily came to the prosecutor's office. At present he is being interrogated.

Speaking at a briefing in the Russian capital some time earlier, spokesman of Russian Foreign Ministry Grigory

Karasin declared that Moscow "awaits an expanded official answer of the Latvian party regarding our demarches."

"Taking into consideration that the January 10 events were the most serious, though not the first one, provocation of Latvia's extreme nationalist forces it is important that all concrete organizers of this action will be punished and Latvian authorities will undertake necessary measures to prevent similar dangerous incidents in the future," emphasized Karasin.

Riga Reports on Apology

LD1201131594 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1200 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Ministry Press Center of the Republic of Latvia reports that the Foreign Affairs Ministry has submitted a note to the Russian Federation embassy in Latvia.

In the note, the ministry apologizes for the incident of 10 January, and explains that preliminary investigation has been made into the case and the person guilty of it was dismissed from office. As the above-mentioned incident happened on the very eve of the interstate talks, Latvia considers it as an attempt by certain circles in Latvia to hamper the progress of the talks and complicate interstate relations.

The note says that the Latvian Government will do everything possible to ward off such provocations in future, and stresses that in future all the issues related to the withdrawal of the Russian Army will also be tackled by way of talks.

Incident, Comments Reviewed

PM1201125994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Report by Irina Litvinova: "Latvia and Russia Were on Brink of Armed Conflict. Arrest of Two Russian Generals: Analysis and Consequences"]

[Text] Riga—"The likelihood of an armed conflict was very real indeed," Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs stated in an interview with Latvian television regarding the seizure in Riga 10 January of two Russian generals and several military installations.

The order to arrest Major Generals Anatoliy Vodopyanov and Nikolay Taylakov, who had arrived to investigate illegal activities involving the seizure of Russian military installations, was issued by Andrejs Rucs, leader of Riga's Vidzeme suburb. That evening Latvian television viewers were able to watch the moment of the arrest on television: Guards led away the handcuffed Russian servicemen to a minibus. Then, escorted by the municipal police, the "prisoners" were taken to the Latvian-Russian border. They were held somewhere in a forest where they were threatened and insulted. The area where this incident took place was cordoned off by armed

personnel who would not even let through a car bearing the diplomatic license plate of Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh, who was threatened with an assault rifle. A protest note about this incident was later sent to the Latvian Foreign Ministry.

"The damage done to Latvia today, on the eve of the NATO conference in Brussels and the Yeltsin-Clinton meeting and at the start of another round of talks with the Russian delegation, cannot be overestimated," Foreign Ministry head G. Andrejevs acknowledged.

A delegation headed by Special Envoy Sergey Zotov flew to Riga from Moscow 10 January in order to clarify the position regarding the treaty on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia. It seemed that a rapprochement of positions was possible which would finally have allowed both parties to sign documents that are important for both countries. At the airport Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, informed the Russian delegation about what had happened. After shaking hands with Martins Virsis, head of the Latvian delegation at the talks, Sergey Zotov informed him that the negotiations would be postponed until the situation had been fully investigated, the servicemen released, and explanations received from the Latvian leadership.

Colonel General Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, said that what had happened "is not an incident, it is an unprecedented provocation." He announced that some Russian subunits had been moved up to Riga. Defense Minister Grachev had been notified of what has happened, and he in turn had informed President Yeltsin of the events in Riga. According to Mayorov, airborne troops, transport and combat-zone aviation, and naval units stationed on Russian territory had been placed on combat alert. Mayorov announced that Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis, with whom the commander has been in contact in order to settle the situation, had assumed a constructive position. Consequently both generals had been released.

President Ulmanis received news of the arrest of the servicemen during the latest session of the National Security Council—this was announced in a statement circulated by the president's press service. The session was interrupted, and all security services were issued with a directive to find and release the detainees. The statement says that A. Rucs had ordered the guards to resist all attempts to free the generals, even if the attempts were made by Latvian security services. The statement terms Rucs' actions "provocative" and says that he exceeded his powers. It is acknowledged that the conflict could have resulted in casualties. The Latvian Foreign Ministry statement gives a similar assessment of the actions taken by Latvian officials. It is indicated that issues concerning the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia should be resolved through negotiations.

Envoy Told of 'Bewilderment' Over Russian Comment

LD1201184294 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1801 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Aivars Vovers, deputy secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry for eastern affairs, today summoned to the Foreign Ministry Valeriy Nesterushkin, counsellor to the ambassador of the Russian embassy in Latvia, to express bewilderment in connection with the statement by Russian Presidential Press Secretary Kostikov; the statement declared that in the future, when responding to incidents like that in Riga on 10 January, Russia will act taking into account American experience.

Vovers stressed that the ministry expressed bewilderment over this statement, because Latvia has already officially apologized to Russia, and the Latvian Government has categorically condemned the action by the guilty party and a criminal case has been started by the Latvian prosecutor's office.

Officials React to Incident, Russian Reaction

LD1201182794 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1400 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Participants in today's session of the Saeima foreign affairs commission concluded that the detention of Russian army generals and an attempt to detain Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh by Andrejs Rucs, head of the Vidzeme district council, have dented the country's image. As members of the commission stressed, the incident revealed several shortcomings in the Latvian legislation and the defense system. This action was to a great extent facilitated by the ill-sorted legislation of the country.

Rucs formally acted in accordance with the law on local government property, which provides for taking over the army property situated on the territory of local governments, but there are no rules as to how the takeover should proceed.

The chairman of the commission, Aleksandr Kiršteins, had been informed about the planned takeover of military installations belonging to the Russian army in Vidzeme district of Riga, but he did not know how it would proceed. In addition, the plan of that action was not discussed by the foreign affairs commission, as Rucs has claimed in an interview to the ATMODA ATPUTAI newspaper.

Latvia's Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs for his part expressed indignation that the government had not been informed about such an action, because the Latvian Government has to take all responsibility now.

Martins Virsis, head of the Latvian delegation for talks with Russia, admitted at the commission's session that Russia's reaction to that incident was nevertheless much sharper than is internationally accepted. According to

Martins Virsis, Rucs' actions were not serious enough to cause the mobilization of the Pskov division near the Latvian border.

'Considerable Progress' Made on Skrunda Talks

*LD1201172594 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1600 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Considerable progress has been made in two days of Latvian-Russian interstate talks on the issue of the definition of the status of the Skrunda radar station. This was reported today by the head of the Russian delegation, Sergey Zotov.

Zotov explained that disagreements in the opinions of the two delegations on draft agreements on the status of the Skrunda radar, and the period for which it will remain in Latvia, as well as on social security for the Russian military personnel are the only obstacles that hamper the signing of the joint agreement on the withdrawal of the Russian Army.

Diplomatic Protocol Signed With Azerbaijan

*LD1201162794 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1500 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Ojars Kehris, Latvia's minister of economics, and Samad Sadykov, vice premier of Azerbaijan [title as received], today in Baku, signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Latvia and Azerbaijan.

Moreover, Kehris and the Azerbaijani foreign minister, Gasan Gasanov, signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Latvia and Azerbaijan.

According to the agreement, Azerbaijan will supply Latvia with fuel and oil products. Latvia, for its part, will supply Azerbaijan with engines, wagons, as well as products of the instrument-making industry.

Minister Kehris Comments on Visit

*LD1201200094 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1801 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Economics Minister Ojars Kehris reported on returning to Latvia that during a visit to Baku an official Latvian government delegation established diplomatic relations with Azerbaijan and concluded a trade and economic cooperation agreement.

The Latvian delegation met Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev and representatives of the government.

Due to the unstable political situation and the state of war in Azerbaijan, possibilities for cooperation are limited, but successful development cannot be ruled out in the future.

Latvia also plans to conclude similar agreements with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Lithuania

Foreign Minister on Policy, Talks With Russia

*WS1201164594 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian
30 Dec 93 No. 252 p 4*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys by Violeta Gaizauskaite and Algimantas Zukas under the "Opinions" rubric; place and date not given: "P. Gylys Welcomes 'Shadow' Cabinet"]

[Text] "People are currently most concerned with the indexation of savings, compensation, and benefits," said Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys sharing his impressions after a meeting with his constituents in the Utena region. However, the audience also asked numerous questions about our relations with Russia after Zhirinovskiy's success in the elections. Even rural people were interested in whether we would join NATO, as well as other foreign policy issues. Journalists Violeta Gaizauskaite and Algimantas Zukas also had some questions for the minister, who is celebrating his first anniversary in office. P. Gylys "had a session" with journalists at the Foreign Ministry Collegium.

[RESPUBLIKA] **How could you assess the past year in politics? Do you think, as foreign minister, that you have fulfilled all commitments?**

[Gylys] Well, I am, probably, supposed to demonstrate severe self-criticism now Assuming this position, I understood perfectly well that I would not manage to accomplish everything I wanted. I do not want to under-rate the work of Mr. A. Saudargas [former minister]. I see, however, that the formation of the system will continue for several years. When the International Relations Institute releases its first "production," we will have more young people who know several West European languages. If we succeed in creating a state machine that works in a new style in some five years, the state will remain stable even when ministers change.

[RESPUBLIKA] **However, many Foreign Ministry employees have found other, often better-paying jobs. Do you not think that such "migration" results from the fact that people do not see a prospect for making a good diplomatic career? What decides the appointment of one or another official to important diplomatic positions?**

[Gylys] I would not like to agree with you, because it is over recent months that we have tried to show people that their work is valued. They know that those people who work in the ministry and Lithuania's diplomatic missions abroad will rotate. A large group of our employees has gone to work in our missions in Washington, Vienna, and Helsinki. We invite people from other offices because it is difficult to find those of an ambassadorial scale. Neither the president nor I put any "political" questions to appointed ambassadors.

[RESPUBLIKA] One can notice that former high-ranking suppliers and traders usually go to the East. With what is such "economic" tendency associated?

[Gyls] The press mocks us by saying that nothing has come out of "economization," while you notice that real economists become ambassadors. However, this was not some deliberate selection. I would not stress the diplomats' former occupation. "Economization" is an unfinished process: We wanted to achieve much more, but I could not assess everything as damaging. By May of 1994, we must draft a free trade agreement with the European Union. We have prepared a program on joining GATT. These agreements must be drafted with the smallest painful effect, because the opening of the Lithuanian market implies competition, which is not always gentlemanly.

[RESPUBLIKA] What should be the role of the Foreign Policy Coordination Council, the existence of which is not projected in the Constitution, by the way?

[Gyls] I would like to be frank. However, I would not be pleased if my sincerity was used against me.... The president's office was a new institution, and I was a new minister. Therefore, the "circulation" of information between this office and the ministry was not too good in the beginning, but things have improved now. Political strife is often waged in the Seimas [parliament] Foreign Affairs Committee, thus, the latter is more difficult to communicate with. By the way, information about the committee's activities that reaches the Foreign Ministry is insufficient. The new council will help to know better who does what, and to take joint action.

[RESPUBLIKA] Both journalists and Seimas deputies were quite surprised by the idea of establishing a position of the minister for relations with Western countries. Would you be "minister for the East" in that case?

[Gyls] Representation plays a great role in interstate relations, and it would be good to have such a minister as J. Mejerovics in Latvia. The Foreign Ministry will not split and will deal with all geographic latitudes.

[RESPUBLIKA] Lithuania has disbanded its former delegation for negotiations with Russia. However, Russia has not changed the status of its delegation. Its leader V. Isakov is urging the expansion of dialogue on the delineation of state borders and the establishment of border crossings. However, does Lithuania's new delegation include any specialists in these issues?

[Gyls] The current delegation is only a core, while experts will be invited from all offices. For example, the group headed by Deputy Foreign Minister V. Domarkas will contribute to the delineation of the borders. I would like to go back to the conversation between Presidents A. Brazauskas and B. Yeltsin, in which they exchanged opinions about the necessity of changes in the negotiating delegations. I think that nothing exceptional has occurred after the appointment of the group for negotiations with the CIS. I would like to draw your attention

to the fact that this group includes state officials rather than politicians. Russia did this in the very beginning, while we did not preserve the principle of solidarity and state interest.

[RESPUBLIKA] RESPUBLIKA was surprised by the statement of G. Karasin, chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information Service, that Russia had been informed about the visit of the Chechen delegation to Lithuania in advance, and, therefore, this visit "did not exceed any permissible limits." What could this mean?

[Gyls] I learned about this visit a few days ago. As far as I know, none of our employees informed Moscow about it in advance. According to my understanding of diplomacy, however, the preparation for this visit seems strange.

[RESPUBLIKA] You assessed the opposition's no-confidence vote against you as an integral part of the operation "Fall." Do you think that the opposition is plotting a "Spring" operation?

[Gyls] I imagine that the operation "Spring" will be much weaker than the "Fall" one. The oral battle will continue until the next elections. However, this is not enough. There is a slight possibility of assuming power through illegal means.

[RESPUBLIKA] How would you comment on the words of opposition leader V. Landsbergis that the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party's foreign policy has failed? Could the opposition participate in conducting the policy of the ruling party? What constructive proposals of the opposition could you remember?

[Gyls] Like Mr. V. Landsbergis, I would have to strain my memory very much.... I could discern a conceptual, although a critical, assessment in the address of Social Democrat V. Pleckaitis before the Seimas. Sometimes it looks like some people in Lithuania are displeased with our considerably quiet relations with Russia, or with the withdrawal of Russian troops. They need strife and enemies, and possibly large ones. However, such an evolution of international relations has no perspective. I believe that it is high time for the opposition to think about a "shadow" cabinet, because it is useful for the people to know what government will come after the next elections.

[RESPUBLIKA] One "shadow" cabinet has already declared itself.... [reference to young politicians' conference which elected a 'government of the 21st century']

[Gyls] If you have in mind the Lithuanian Government of the 21st century, its representatives also work in the Foreign Ministry. However, as soon as I learned about its existence, I calmed down. They are allowed to act freely, and their "orientation" toward the 21st century is welcome.

Government Decision on Soviet Secret Documents*LD1301105394 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] The Lithuanian Government declared at its closed meeting on Wednesday [12 January] as restricted all secret documents of the government institutions, the procuracy, courts, all structures of the Lithuanian Communist Party, offices, enterprises, and organizations during the period of Soviet occupation of Lithuania.

The government press representative also announced that it was decided at the same meeting to abolish unilaterally visas to the citizens of Japan, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and Italy.

Landsbergis Interviewed on Year's Mistakes*WS1201115994 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 31 Dec 93 No. 253 p 2*

[Interview with Seimas opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis by ELTA correspondent Arturas Mankevicius; place and date not given: "The Year of the Dog Will Also Be Devoted to Politics"]

[Text] [Mankevicius] In what way has the past year been successful to you as a politician?

[Landsbergis] I am happy that two most important tasks begun by my colleagues and myself have been accomplished successfully—Lithuania's admission to the European Union and the withdrawal of Russian troops.

[Mankevicius] What have been the greatest failures in the opposition's political strife this year?

[Landsbergis] I do not think that we have suffered any final defeats. However, we have had a few failures: To influence the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] leadership or its extreme forces. The latter's pressure on the LDDP leaders allows for more cooperation with the opposition.

[Mankevicius] The congresses of Sajudis and the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) proposed that early elections to the Seimas [parliament] be held already this year. Would not this be another mistake of the right-wing forces?

[Landsbergis] First of all, I do not agree with the assumption that we made a mistake then. Our political rivals were assuming power without any elections by taking over control in the former Supreme Council. The elections were understood as a possibility for testing whether the Lithuanian people really agreed with this. People may have believed that such an outcome would bring better results, and, therefore, a few more people voted for the LDDP than for other parties. We, as well as the LDDP, did not predict such results.

However, we see similar processes in neighboring countries, where Landsbergis or Sajudis have no influence.

These are the specific regularities of the transitional period, mass psychology, and the influence of communism.

It is very difficult to hold early elections against LDDP's will. This can be determined only by the LDDP itself and the president if the latter decide that it is more favorable for them to hold new elections now rather than in a few years.

Parliament Votes To Prohibit Gambling*WS1201203094 Tallinn BNS in English 1638 GMT 12 Jan 94*

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 12, BNS - The Lithuanian parliament prohibited gambling and casinos Tuesday [11 January] by adopting several amendments to the law on enterprises.

The step earned sizable support from the rightist opposition but was sharply criticized by some members of the ruling majority. Kestutis Jasklevicius, chairman of the parliament's Budget and Finance Committee, ironically remarked that the next step would be to impose a ban on short skirts.

A special commission of the Lithuanian Finance Ministry said the move would eliminate possibilities to root out illegal casinos by applying economic methods and to get additional budget receipts.

A similar view was expressed by Finance Minister Eduardas Vilkelis.

The parliament ignored the commission's arguments because "believers pray for such a decision." The law will come into effect if it is signed by the president.

The regulations of establishing casinos and gambling rules were approved by the Lithuanian government only a half year ago.

Experts on Nuclear Waste Containers for Ignalina*WS0701123894 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 29 Dec 93 No. 251 p 9*

[Interview with Swedish firm SKB Director (Bo Gustafsson), German firm GNB representative (Dieter Schonfeld), and Gennadiy Negrivoda, chief engineer of the Ignalina nuclear power plant, by Ruta Skatikaite under the "Economy" rubric; place and date not given: "Forty Years for Contemplation"]

[Text] Each country with a nuclear power plant faces the problem of storing and burying the radioactive fuel waste. However, few such countries fail to take care of its storage in advance.

Lithuania has been forced into a situation where no storage facilities for particularly radioactive fuel waste have been built at the Ignalina nuclear power plant over the 10 years of its operation. The space left in the special water reservoirs, where waste fuel cassettes have been

stored for 10 years, is enough to last the plant for only a year. If no new storage facilities are built over this time, the first block will have to be shut down. It is not difficult to imagine what an energy crisis may hit the country receiving even 90 percent of its electric energy from the nuclear plant. However, this danger has been removed by the government adopting a decision on the storage of radioactive waste in special dry containers. Currently, the so-called intermediate "wet" (water) nuclear fuel storage is more common in the world. The government based its decision on the conclusions of Lithuanian nuclear energy specialists and the Swedish firm SKB. A contract with the German firm GNB is nearing completion today. SKB Director (Bo Gustafsonn) has actively participated in this work. We have asked him to detail how the issue of storage choice was settled.

"Sweden concluded a contract with the Lithuanian Energy Ministry on this matter more than a year ago," said Bo Gustafsonn. "Two-thirds of the expenses were covered by Sweden, and the remaining part—by Lithuania. In the beginning, six countries participated in the tender, but later there remained only three—Germany, Canada, and the United States. Assessing their projects, we primarily considered their security, the fact whether the production of a firm has already been used and what the response is, and whether a firm will manage to manufacture the necessary amount of containers in short order. Certainly, we also thought about the price. The production of the German firm GNB met all of these requirements, except the last one."

[Skatikaite] It is the price that encouraged the Canadians to raise objections to the commission's choice. Are their containers really \$100 million cheaper?

[Gustafsonn] This sum is concocted. (We have learned from other sources that the price of one GNB container is 600,000 German marks [DM]. The decision endorses the purchase of 60 containers for DM36 million. Thus,

even the total sum is only around \$20 million—the author). The containers of the Canadian firm "Ontario Hydro" are really cheaper, however, they weigh an even 100 tonnes, and their transportation requires special vehicles. Their unloading and the purchase of shipment containers would require a special building. If we add all these expenses to the price of the Canadian containers, the latter will differ little from those of the German production.

[Skatikaite] What countries have bought GNB containers? I am addressing this question to the German firm GNB representative (Dieter Schonfeld).

[Schonfeld] Our firm has sold 500 containers to Canada, the United States, Sweden, France, the Czech Republic, and South Africa. Currently, we have a contract for another 100 containers. Our firm has engaged in this business since 1978. We perform the design work, while containers are manufactured at different enterprises.

[Skatikaite] Currently, there are 800 tonnes of HM [expansion unknown] stored at the Ignalina nuclear power plant, while Russia has 3,900 tonnes, that is, 1,000 tonnes less than in special storage facilities. Does Russia plan to begin production of its own "dry" containers?

[Negrivoda] A plant in Izhora is planning to start such production. According to primary estimates, one container would cost DM210. Even if the price climbs to DM300, it would be twice cheaper than the GNB containers. If the Izhora plant speeds up the realization of its project, we will have a broader choice. As long as the Ignalina nuclear plant operates, we will need 40 containers annually in the future. Radioactive fuel waste is stored in dry containers for 40 years. Lithuania must decide over this period of time what is to be done with such waste—to bury it for good or to recycle. Whatever the decision, this will be a costly process. Thus, those 40 years is a time not only for contemplation but also for the accumulation of finances.

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